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WITH THE WORLD'S PEOPLE

AN ACCOUNT OF THE ETHNIC ORIGIN, PRIMITIVE ESTATE, EARLY MIGRATIONS, SOCIAL EVOLUTION, AND PRESENT CONDITIONS AND PROMISE OF THE PRINCIPAL FAMILIES OF MEN

TOGETHER WITH A PRELIMINARY INQUIRY ON THE TIME, PLACE AND MANNER OF THE BEGINNING

By JOHN CLARK RIDPATH, LL. D.

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PROFUSELY ILLUSTRATED WITH COLORED PLATES, RACE MAPS AND CHARTS, TYPE PICTURES, SKETCHES, AND DIAGRAMS

WASHINGTON, D. C.

CLARK E. RIDPATH

1915

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Preface to Volumes III and IV.

IN everything relating to progress and civilization the Aryan, or Indo-European, races have far surpassed the other divisions of mankind. It were not easy to exaggerate the precedence and superiority of these races in history. Perhaps our point of view among the outspreading branches of Aryanism in the New World may prejudice us to a certain extent respecting the rank and accomplishment of that family of the Ruddy races to which we belong. Without doubt we underestimate the achievements and intellectual force of the Oriental peoples; but, after all allowance for such error has been made, we must still admit the striking ascendency of the Aryan races over all other branches of the human family.

This ascendency relates to nearly every phase and fact of civilization. It is to men of the Aryan race that we owe the conquest over nature. The place of man in the world is now fixed by his triumph over natural forces, by his knowledge of phenomena, and by his ability to apply that knowledge in the subordination and direction of material nature. In that order, of which we constitute a part, there are two principal facts—man and nature. The one must prevail over the other. There can hardly be a divided sovereignty. There can be no equipoise between the intellectual forces which proceed from man and the material energies with which he is surrounded until the one or the other have triumphed.

Antiquity gave the mastery to nature. For ages man, in the presence of nature, cowered and shrank away. Neither the Brown nor the Black races of mankind have ever sought to place the human mind in an ascendency over nature. Neither the Semites nor the Hamites —though each possessed remarkable elements of strength—ever attempted the conquest of the natural world. It remained for men of unmixed Aryan derivation to go against nature as invaders and conquerors; to brave the perils of a campaign in which every element of opposition and terror was present; and to win the victory over an enemy that could not be wounded or driven to cover.

In the intellectual as well as in the physical world the easy leadership of mankind must be conceded to Indo-European peoples. In all literature and art the development of these peoples has been as conspicuous for its presence as the absence of the same has been notable among other divisions of the human race. The nervous force and intellectual ambitions of the Aryans have led them on to almost inconceivable heights of accomplishment and renown. From the remote epoch of the dawn—from that far age when history itself as yet was not—the progenitors of the Indo-European races showed themselves capable of sustained and wonderful intellectual flights. Mythology and poetry are the very oldest products of the conscious soul of man, and these have been peculiarly the work of the Old Aryans and their descendants. If the pencilings of the first light were

seen in the valley of the Indus and on the plains of Iran, the secondary and more glorious effulgence rose above the horizon in Southeastern Europe, diffusing itself first through the archipelago and the peninsulas of Hellas, and then spreading to the West until, in the present age, the glow of morning reaches as far as the Pacific shores and the tundras of the Yukon.

It is with the destinies of the West Aryan races that I have attempted to deal in the current volume. The reader need not be told that these races have contributed the larger part of ancient and modern history. In comparison with their work all the rest is dwarfed into insignificance. The consideration of the West Aryans must, for this reason, occupy our attention throughout a large section of the whole treatise; and even then the subject must be dismissed with only casual references to the great and well-known Western peoples who now hold the leadership of mankind.

Of the ancient Aryans of Europe, we shall find opportunity to present a fuller treatment. The present volume will be wholly occupied with the account of the Greeks and the Romans. The former of these two splendid historical races was, without doubt, the principal civilizing agent in the redemption of Old Europe from aboriginal barbarism. There is something sublime in the intellectual courage with which the mere handful of Hellenes, planted in their little peninsula at the southeast angle of the Greater Europe, attacked the kingdom and dominion of chaos and ancient night. It was the struggle of starlight with Cimmerian gloom and dolor. It was the battle of infant Order with the empire of Orchus. It was the attack of immortal intellect upon the Titanic monsters of brute force wallowing in the caverns and roaring in hoarse discord through the dark and horrid woods of barbaric Europe. Certainly it was the part of the Greek race, in the general progress and redemption of mankind, to bring in light and freedom, and to save our race from the savagery of the past.

In the consideration of the Romans and their descendent races we shall find another aspect of incoming order. This relates to the organization of society and the administration of law. Whether or not vast and regular organism is a part of the ultimate state of mankind, or whether it is only an intermediate stage in the sublime progress of human development, we are not here to decide. Certain it is that organic structure and unification—the consolidation of society and the regular action of extended government—are necessary parts of the human evolution, and these parts were allotted, in the early age of West Aryan development, to the Roman race.

In the following pages I shall attempt to delineate the part which this great stock of mankind performed in the evolution of civilization, not indeed as a mere historical agent displaying its force in institutional forms, in senates and cities, in wars and thoroughfares, but as an organic, living entity, growing and spreading in the human manner until the branches thereof were stretched out over a large part of the bigness of the earth and the better part of the human family. That I shall be able to depict the evolution of the Greek and Latin races as amply and well as the place of those races was conspicuous and majestic in the ancient civilization, I do not expect; but that I may be able to present much of interest and something that is original in generalization and deduction is my desire and hope.

One of the features in which races

differ most is the wide-apart character of their descendent peoples. Some races have great descendants, and others only dwarfs and weaklings for their progeny. The offspring of ethnic paternity is more variable in strength, character, and manner than is the offspring of a given society or individual.

It were almost impossible to discover any strong or well-defined people of the present day having for their ancestry one of the great races that formerly flourished in Western Asia. The Chaldees and the Babylonians have no well-marked modern representatives. The Assyrians have only the scattered and half-barbarous tribes of Kurds. The Phœnicians have transmitted no race to recent times. The great Egyptians have as a descendent people the miserable and degraded Copts. Even the Greeks are but feebly represented by the living races of Hellas. Notwithstanding the intellectual, literary, and artistic preëminence of the old Hellenes, they were, as it now appears, unable to propagate their genius and race. They live only by the diffusion of their splendor among the peoples of the present age.

It is in this particular that the Romans afford so strong a contrast to most of the other races of mankind. They have given to modern times several of the most conspicuous and highly developed peoples of our centuries. We might at first be led to suppose that it was the splendid organizing capacity of the Roman race that enabled it to transmit itself to after ages; but we must remember that the organic forms of Rome were crushed under the rough impact of barbarism. The great empire was ground into fragments and oblivion; but the race did not perish amid the wrecks of its organic greatness. On the contrary, it survived—survived in many forms and in different countries. The Roman stock, replanting itself here and there throughout the better parts of Europe, soon began to flourish in new forms of ethnic life springing from the mold of the old.

Thus arose the so-called LATIN RACES. It is with the consideration of these that I begin the current volume. They are the ethnic results of the secondary plantings of Rome. They constitute a group of nationalities having a common descent, though modified by a variety of foreign elements entering into combination with the original stock. The six races forming the Latin group have sprung up around the dead stump of a mighty ancestry. They now claim precedence, with the promise of longevity and future renown.

Some of these Latin races—as the Spaniards and Portuguese—are comparatively pure in blood and race descent. They represent in a true form the modern result of the ancient Roman paternity. Others—as the Italians and the French—are more composite in their race-life, having drawn up into union considerable elements of Teutonic blood and manners along with the original currents of the Latin fatherhood.

In the first part of this volume I have endeavored to delineate the race-life of the great peoples just referred to. In doing so the space allotted does not permit so full a discussion of ethnic characteristics and evolution as we have been able to present in the case of the ancestral races. There is, however, less need to dwell upon the race character of the Italians, the French, and the Spaniards, since these are known and read in the open book of the century. Their history as peoples is obvious and of common fame. I have, therefore, drawn only in outline the ethnic features of the modern Latin races, giving a general

sketch of their place and characteristics, but leaving much to be supplied from the common information of the reader. I have endeavored in the brief chapters allotted to the consideration of each of these races to *interpret* them by generalization and deduction, rather than to dwell upon such facts as have already been delineated by many writers.

After the discussion of the Latin races I next consider the CELTS. The history of the race so called occupies the second book of the current volume. The Celtic races were before the Romans in the possession and partial civilization of the greater part of Western Europe. But the preëminence and long continuity of the Romans have suggested their consideration first after the history of the Greeks, and that of the descendent Latin races next, on the lines of immediate derivation.

The Celts, in the Aryan family of mankind, were cognate with the Romans and the Greeks. Their evolution, however, was less striking and less enduring than that of the Roman race, and much less brilliant than that of the Greeks. The difference in favor of the Celts is that they still survive in several existing forms, while the great classical peoples of antiquity have become extinct. The Gael, the Irish, and the Welsh are the living representatives of a stock of mankind formerly diffused throughout the West. The Greeks and the Romans have survived only in ethnic forms greatly deflected and modified from their respective originals. If it be urged that the Celtic races of the modern epoch are in process of extinction, it may also be said that their fate in this respect is only a part of the common destiny. They have already had a long and remarkable career. They are old in ethnic life and history. The Latin races took their rise in the Middle Ages; but the Celts were already mature and powerful before the Crescent had been raised in Arabia, before the Franks had crossed the Rhine, or the Saxons had invaded Britain.

The last, and in some sense the most important, book of the present volume is that devoted to the evolution of the TEUTONIC DIVISION of the human race. To this I have given as much space as practicable within the limits of the treatise. We shall see in this part the outgoing and development of the great and strong Germanic peoples. We shall mark their progress from the barbaric ages to the ascendency of the Germans in the present epoch of civilization. We shall observe with interest the transformation of the race character from the barbaric to the civilized type, and shall not fail to dwell upon the intellectual preëminence attained by the Germans in recent times. First in Germania proper, afterwards in the Hollowlands of Northwestern Europe, and then in Scandinavia and as far out as Iceland, we shall mark the goings forth of this vigorous and resolute stock of mankind, until it competes for the first rank among the superior races of our century.

J. C. R.

GREENCASTLE, 1894.

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RACE CHART No. 3
SHOWING THE GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE WEST ARYANS.
ICELAND
ICELANDERS
North Cape
Reikiav
FAROE IS.
SHETLAND IS
ORKNEY IS.
WESTERN IS.
BRITISH ISLES
IRELAND
PRSE
IRISH SEA
DUBLIN
COTLAND
GAEL
PICTS
BRITONS
WELSH
CORNISH
ENGLAND
ENGLISH RACES
LONDON
English Chan.
NORTH SEA
Bergen
Trondhjem
LOFODEN ISLES
Mäelstrom
KIOLEN MTS.
DOVREFIELD MTS.
NORWEGIANS
CHRISTIANIA
SWEDES
Fahlun
STOCKH
L. Wetter
The Naze
Skager Rack
DANES
DENMARK
COPENHAGEN
NORSE
GERMA
Hamburg
LOW GERMANS
HIGH GERMANS
BERLIN
Prague
BELGIUM
BRUSSELS
GAULS
PARIS
FRENCH
Brest
Nantes
Bordeaux
BAY OF BISCAY
FRANCE
BRETONS
HISPANO ROMANS
SWITZERLAND
SWISS
BAVARIANS
Munich
VIENNA
ALPS MTS.
Venice
Lyons
Turin
ITALY
ADRIATIC
Oviedo
PYRENEES
CATALANS
PROVENCALS
CELTIBERIANS
Oporto
MADRID
SPAIN
PORTUGAL
PORTUGUES
LISBON
SPANIARDS
Valencia
BALEARIC IS.
CORSICA
ROME
SARDINIA
SICILY
MALTA
MEDITERR
Cadiz
Strait of Gibraltar
ALGIERS
TUNIS
MOROCCO
ALGERIA
15
0
15
60
50
10
Longitude East from

30
45
60
Enara L.
C.Kanin
LAPLAND
Kandalask
Arctic Circle
Tornea
Uleaborg
WHITE SEA
Mezene
R. Petchora
Archangel
Onega
Wasa
Lake Onega
N. Dwina R.
Lake Ladoga
Viborg
G. of Finland
ST PETERSBURG
L. Peipus
Novgorod
Pskov
Viatka
BLACK RUSSIANS
Volga R.
WHITE RUSSIANS
LIVONIANS
RUSSIA
Kazan
Moscow
Nijni Novgorod
Simbirsk
Verkhneural
Wilna
WESTERN SLAVS
TEUTO-SLAVS
GREAT RUSSIANS
Tula
Moghilev
POLES
Warsaw
Orenburg
Uralsk
Ural R.
CELTIC STEM
Karkov
LITTLE RUSSIANS
Dnieper R.
Ekaterinoslav
R. Don
LETTO-SLAVS
Volga R.
CARPATHIAN MTS.
Dniester
CAUCASIANS
Odessa
SEA OF AZOV
CRIMEA
SEA OF ARAL
CASPIAN SEA
ROUMANIA
BULGARIA
BLACK SEA
CONSTANTINOPLE
Sinope
THRACIANS
MINOR ASIANS
GEORGIANS
OSSETES
CAPPADOCIANS
LYDIANS
ARMENIANS
ARCHIPELAGO
Smyrna
CARIANS
MYSIANS
Tigris R.
R. Euphrates
WEST ARYANS
TEHERAN
RHODES
CYPRUS
CANDIA
PERSIA
Greenwich
30
45
E. F. Fisk Engr. N.Y.

RACE CHART No. 3.

EXPLANATION.

In order to understand this Chart, and the great movements which it indicates, the reader must take the same point of departure as in Race Chart No. 2, near the bottom of the Caspian. As will be seen in chart No. 2, the Aryan races departed east and west. The westward migration was by far the stronger and more important.

Upon the stems here represented, nearly all the great historical races of Southwestern Asia, Europe, and the New World are based. These are the historical peoples and nations of the world. Here, near the beginning of the migration, are the Ossetes, the Armenians, and the Georgians. Out of the latter stem arise the Minor Asians, whose deeds cover a considerable part of ancient history.

From this departure, the lines cross over into Europe. Bending southward, we have the astonishing development of the Greeks; and further on, the Romans, out of which strong stock have sprung five or six of the great modern races—the French, the Italians, the Spaniards, the Portugese, the Provençals, etc. With some of these races the Celts are blended, as will be seen by the junction of race lines north of the Pyrenees.

Returning to the country between the Black Sea and the Caspian, we see the great northern stem of the Letto-Slavs. Out of these sprang the Caucasian races, so-called; and from these the Bulgarians, etc. Further north, we have the astonishing development of the Russian families, extending westward to the Livonians, the Poles, the Wends, the Czechs, etc.

From the same origin, about the River Don, the Celtic Stem makes its way westward, and is developed in the central part of Western Europe. The backward turn of this stock bears the ancient Galatians. The main stem bears the ancient Gauls, the Bretons, and the Celtiberians, on the Continent; and across the Channel, the old Bretons, represented in modern times by the Gael, the Erse (Irish), the Welsh, the Cornish, etc.

In the north of Europe, we find the strong German stem, bearing the High Germans, the Bavarians, the Low Germans, the Norse stock, the Danes, the Swedes, the Norwegians, and, finally, the Icelanders.

Taken altogether this West Aryan map represents the most powerful and important aspect of race-life on the globe. (For the ethnical connection of the West Aryans with the general scheme of mankind, see Race Chart No. 1, above and to the left).

Part Fourth.

THE RUDDY RACES.—CONTINUED.

II.—THE WEST ARYANS.

BOOK VII.—THE GREEKS.

CHAPTER XLIV.—GRÆCO-ASIANS.

ASIA MINOR was old when Europe was young. The country between the Caspian and the eastern body of the Mediterranean provoked to an early settlement. At least two of the principal divisions of mankind, both branches of the Ruddy races, found their way into this peninsular Asia and made it their home. It is believed that the Semitic migration extended around the Mediterranean on the northeast on its way into Pelasgic Greece and Etruscan Italy. Possibly also along the southern coast of the peninsula the Hamites found a lodgment; but the greater populations of Asia Minor were contributed by the strong Aryan stream flowing westward through the pass between the Caspian and the Persian gulf. The movement which carried the kinsfolk of the Iranians and the Indic-Aryans into the Lesser Asia and the West was doubtless coïncident in time with the more vigorous progress of the Indo-Europeans around the Caspian on the north into Slavonic, Teutonic, and Celtic Europe.

Ancient populations of Asia Minor essentially Aryan.

A glance at a classical map will show the distribution and position of the an-

VIEW OF TREBIZOND.—Drawn by A. Slom, from a photograph.

cient states between the Armenian mountains and the Ægean sea. The first of these on the east were Pontus and Cappadocia. To the west lay Paphlagonia, Bithynia, Galatia, Phrygia, Mysia, and Lydia. Along the southern coast were the kingdoms of Caria, Lycia, Pamphylia, Lycaonia, and Cilicia. It was through the northern

Distribution of the classical states; Semitic influences.

the whole country of Cappadocia was occupied by Aryan tribes. At that time the country was of far greater extent than at the classical epoch, reaching even to the borders of the Euxine. The name of Cappadocians was given to the tribes of this region by the Persians, but the Greeks called them White Syrians. It is evident that the Greek

Ethnic and political relations of the Cappadocians.

VIEW OF YASILI-KAIA, CAPPADOCIA.—Sculptured Rocks of Boghar-Kent.—Drawn by Charles Texier, from nature.

group that the Aryan tribes made their way to the West and in these districts formed their earliest settlements. South of the middle line of Asia Minor, running east and west, there were many touches of Semitic influence, and the peoples between this line and the Mediterranean were in a large measure composite. It is therefore with the northern states and their primitive populations that we have here to deal.

As early as the times of Herodotus writers considered this people to be a kindred of the Semitic races east of the Mediterranean, but this view was correct only to the extent of a certain admixture of Semites with the other Cappadocian races. Politically and socially the kingdom established at this early epoch in the country under consideration never attained a high degree of power or influence. It was a mountainous region and unfavorable for the development of despotic power such as

flourished in the level countries to the south. The kingdom, however, was still independent as late as the time of Strabo, and was divided into ten provinces, or districts.

Not much is known of the early institutions of the Cappadocians, or of their character as a people. They are said to have had many religious and superstitious rites, in the major part of which we are able to discover the mythology of the Aryan races, but in other portions the influence of the Semites. The primitive people were builders of great temples, which enjoyed a wide reputation in the classical ages, though the structures themselves were then in ruins. The greatest of all, and most celebrated, was the temple of Comana, dedicated to the goddess Ma. This divinity has been identified with the Bellona, or war goddess, of the Romans. She was worshiped in other parts of Asia Minor as well as in Cappadocia. We find in the early structure of the kingdom a close union of the priestly order with the secular princes. The high priest was second in rank to the king himself. He had the seat of his authority in the city of Comana, which was the capital of the province of Cataonia. Next in rank to this hierarch was the high priest of Zeus, in the city of Venasa. The temple of Artemis, in Castabala, had a fame through all the kingdoms of Western Asia and the states of Eastern Europe.

Mythology and superstitious rites of the race.

The dominant race of Cappadocians, as we find them in the age of Herodotus, were still in the attitude of conquerors to the aboriginal people of the country, whom they had reduced to slavery. The slaves were numerous everywhere, and were used as merchandise. They were the principal wealth of the Cappadocians and were exported as far west as Rome. Little is known, however, of the character of the slaves, but they were doubtless of a different race from the dominant people who had reduced them to serfdom.

Conquering Aryans reduce the aborigines to servitude.

Many evidences are noted of an affinity between the Cappadocians and the primitive Iranians. They had the same general character with the early Medes and Persians. In common with those peoples they cultivated the horse, and the steeds of Cappadocia were almost as much renowned for their excellence as those of Iran. The country was well adapted to the production of flocks and herds, and these furnished the earliest industries after the nomadic life gave place to settled pursuits. Of all the countries of Asia Minor, Cappadocia is highest above the level of the sea. The climate is cold and somewhat forbidding, and there is lack of fertility in the soil. These circumstances greatly impeded the subsequent development of the Aryan tribes who settled in these regions, and they never reached a high rank among the nations. In common with the other provinces of Asia Minor the Cappadocian kingdom became a sort of shuttlecock in the battledoor between Asia and Europe in the times of Alexander and the following ages.

Affinity of Cappadocians and Iranians; infertility of soil.

The primitive races of Pontus were closely allied in ethnic descent with those of Cappadocia. The two countries were, in a measure, identical in geographical character, the principal difference being the seacoast mountain ranges of Pontus, extending from Armenia to Paphlagonia. The old Greek writers included the inhabitants of Pontus under the designation of White Syrians; but the age of

White Syrians of Pontus; Xenophon's account of the people.

Herodotus was an age of conjecture, and his classifications are useless in scientific ethnology.

Concerning the races inhabiting the mountainous districts northeast of Asia Minor, the frontier regions of Cholchis and Armenia, very little is known. It is in evidence that barbarous tribes held these fastnesses before the Aryans, pressing to the westward, fell upon the country. From what stock the aborigines were descended we are totally ignorant. Their subsequent condition was that of slavery, as we have seen, among the Cappadocians. Xenophon, in the *Anabasis*, gives an account of the manners and customs of the peoples of Pontus in connection with that part of the march of the Greeks which extended from Trapezus to Cotyora. The paragraphs devoted to this subject by the great historian constitute the best part of all that is known of the ancient peoples and institutions of Pontus.

VALLEY OF THE MÆANDER, WITH HIERAPOLIS IN THE DISTANCE.—After a sketch of C. G. Danforth.

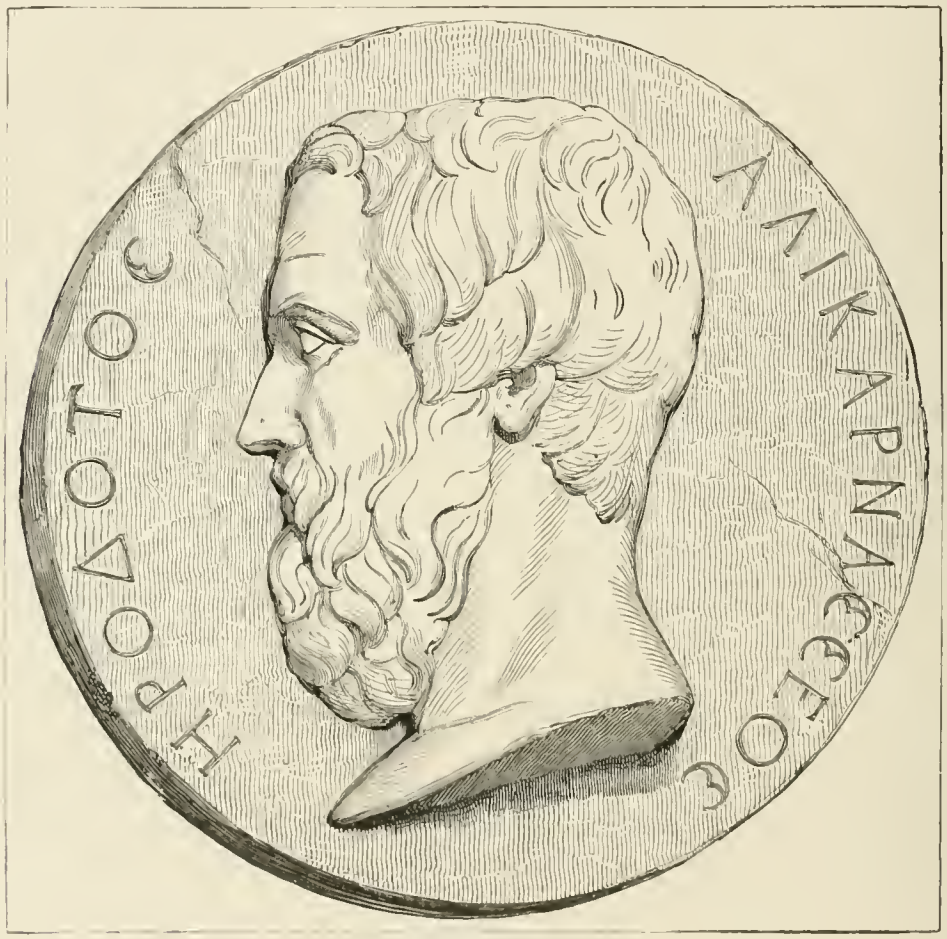
It is clearly evident, from subsequent developments, that the race inhabiting the country from the eighth to the third century B. C. was of the same original

descent with the Greeks. The latter, in the age of their ascendency, established colonies along the southern shore of the Euxine, and several of these were on the Pontine coast. The later Greeks and their old kinsmen were thus thrown into reunion after the lapse of centuries. It except when the overwhelming power of Persia stood at the door.

Race sympathy of the Pontians with the Greeks.

The early populations of Asia Minor were in a high degree diffusive. They spread over the surface and intermingled, and were in some sense as waters poured out. The demarkation

Diffusiveness of the Græco-Asian populations.



MEDALLION OF HERODOTUS.—From an antique bust.

is clear from the historical accounts of the relations and intercourse of the two peoples that they were of a common family, much more nearly allied by race affinities than were the Greeks and the Persians. In the contests between the latter nations the Greeks were nearly always able to persuade the states of Asia Minor to make common cause with them between the Cappadocians and the Pontians is purely artificial—merely convenient. The same may be said of both peoples as it respects the Phrygians. The latter were perhaps the typical race of all the Lesser Asia. They were by far most nearly allied with the European Hellenes. Between them and the Ionian Greeks there was rather diversity

than positive difference of ethnic character and institutional forms. Their ancient country was as indefinite in its limits as were the outlines of their own dispersion.

The same is true, as we have already remarked, of almost every ancient state. The boundaries were indeterminate. Roughly speaking, Phrygia included the central plateau of Anatolia as far east as the river Halys. Within the historical period the country was restricted to an inland region, separated from the Euxine by the intervening states of Paphlagonia and Bithynia, but of old time the country was maritime. As early as the beginning of the ninth century B. C. there had been established on the Euxine coast a Phrygian *thalassocracy*, or sea government, as the name implies. The Troad and the surrounding region were Phrygian, and also the seaport at Sinope. In fact, the Trojans themselves were essentially Phrygians. The contest under the walls of Troy was recognized even in the Homeric period as a battle of Phrygia and Hellas.

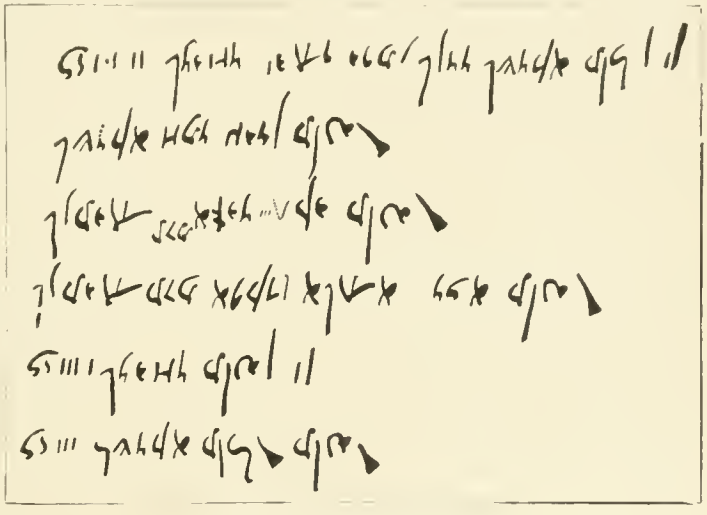
Place and character of Phrygia; the Troad.

This idea of the intimate relations of the Phrygians with the Western peoples entered into the tradition and mythology of the times. Venus, in her revelations to Anchises and his royal descendants, represented herself as the daughter of the King of Phrygia. One myth assigned to the Phrygians the rank of the primitive people of the world. Herodotus, Pausanias, and Claudian all agree that Phrygian was the original speech of mankind. This is equivalent to saying that so far as the Greek tongues were concerned they had—according to current belief—their origin in Phrygia.

Mythology ranks the Phrygians with the Greeks.

It appears that the oldest Aryan state in the country under consideration was established in the upper valley of the river Sangarius. Numerous monuments of the greatest antiquity are discovered in this region, bearing unmistakable evidence of a close kinship with the Greek art and traditions of a later period. Here it is that the ancient

Monuments show kinship of Phrygian and Greek art.



ANCIENT PHRYGIAN INSCRIPTION.
From the original in the Louvre.

sculptures bear to modern times the famous myths of Midas the King, and Cybele the Mother, meaning the earth. The title *Vanaktei*, meaning "king," on the tomb of Midas, is manifestly the same word as the dative *anakti* (ἄνακτι) of the Greek.

True, there are gathered from the Phrygian monuments many hints of Semitic, or Syrian, influences. Among these may be mentioned the *Boustrophedon* writing; that is, the ox-turn style of inscription. In general, the Aryan and Semitic races divided on the *direc-*

The Boustrophedon, or ox-turn, style of inscriptions.

tion of their writing; that is, whether it should be from left to right, as with the Western nations, or from right to left, as with the Hebrews and other Semites. In the early countries where the two races were confluent and the influences of each were felt in the national development, it sometimes happened that *both* styles of writing were employed; that is, the inscription was from left to right and back again from right to left. The analogy of a furrow in the field which turns at the end and then again at the place of beginning, and so on until the whole field is plowed, was seized by the quick discerning Greeks, who for this reason called the double style of writing *boustrophedon*, or ox-turn, from *bous* (βοῦς), an ox, and *trephein* (τρέφειν), to turn. The old Phrygian inscriptions are of this sort, and indicate plainly enough the combined influence of the Semitic and the Aryan peoples in their production.[1]

Such memorials of the ancient people of Phrygia are by no means limited to that country. They are found also in Lydia, Cappadocia, Lycaonia, and in other parts of Asia Minor. They are of a common style, and are in some instances obscure in their meaning and origin. Many inscriptions have baffled all attempts to decipher them. Some monuments appear to have belonged to a people earlier than the great Phrygian race of Aryan descent. Scholars have conjectured that in the earliest ages Cappadocia had an ascendency over Phrygia. In the valley of the Sangarius the ruins of a great city have been discovered and explored. It is manifestly the center of the old Phrygian kingdom, but some of the ruins properly belong to an earlier civilization. In the vicinity of these ruins are found some rocky precipices, the faces of which are covered with figures, geometrically cut on the surface. Some are crosses; others, winding curves crowned with a pediment. In other parts the patterns are of a floral character, and in two places outlines of sphinxes have been delineated, of a type as ancient as those of Egypt.

Deductions from antique inscriptions of Asia Minor.

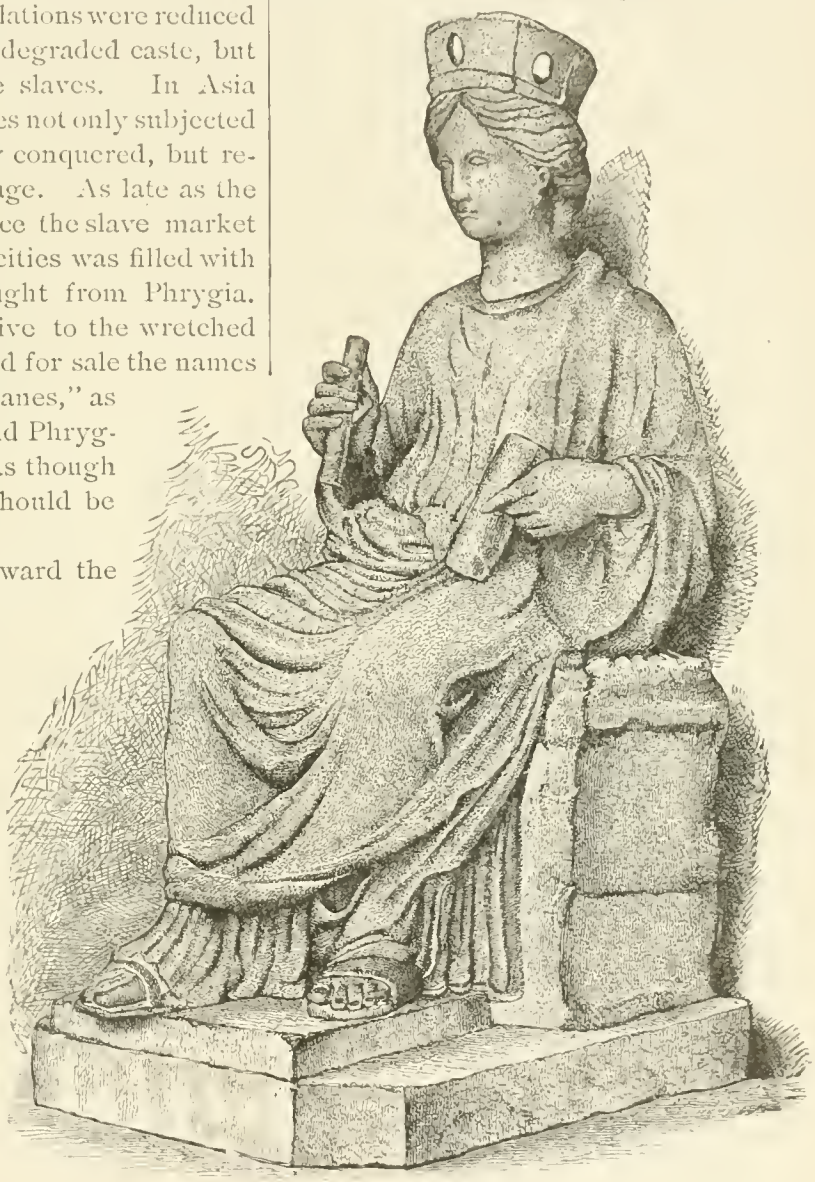
A few indications have been noted of the character of the old Phrygian society. The people are represented to have been freedom-loving and independent in disposition, chafing under restraint. Modern scholars have interpreted the word *Phryges*, or *Briges*, the Greek name of the race, as having meant freemen. Unfortunately, this character of primitive

Old Phrygian society; slavery and slave-making.

[1] If the question be raised *why* some primitive races chose to write from left to right and others from right to left, we are thrown back upon conjecture; but it is clearly the author's opinion that the difference depends upon the phenomena of right- and left-handedness. It is not yet determined by physiologists for what reason men are right-handed or the reverse. It has been claimed by some modern scientists that ambidexterity, or both-handedness, is the natural condition of the race, and that the use of one hand or the other by preference is an acquired habit belonging to the period of development in childhood. It is well known, however, that right-handedness is transmitted by heredity; that a disposition to be right-handed or left-handed "runs in the family." However this may be, it is certainly plausible that as a mere matter of convenience the right-handed races have ever written and will ever continue to write from left to right—this for the simple reason that in so doing the work is *exposed to correction* by the eye as it is performed; that is, it is not hidden by the hand. On the other hand, left-handed people—those writing with the left hand—must either write from right to left, or else experience much difficulty in watching the work as it is performed. It might be rash to hazard the suggestion that the ancient Semites were a left-handed race; but there is really nothing more extravagant in the supposition than in the manifest fact that the modern Europeans are right-handed as a rule. The style of writing called *boustrophedon*, as practiced by the ancients, seems to have been a compromise between two contradictory physiological dispositions, one instinct demanding the use of the right and the other of the left hand.

mankind cöexists with the slave-making disposition. It does not appear that the Iranian or Indic-Aryans enslaved the aborigines in their respective countries. In India the old populations were reduced to the condition of a degraded caste, but they were not made slaves. In Asia Minor the Aryan tribes not only subjected the races whom they conquered, but reduced them to bondage. As late as the classical ages in Greece the slave market at Athens and other cities was filled with human chattels brought from Phrygia. It was common to give to the wretched creatures thus exposed for sale the names of "Midas" and "Manes," as if in mockery of the old Phrygian kings. It was as though an Egyptian slave should be called "Pharaoh"!

As we follow westward the streams of Aryan migration from the ancient seat of the race we come, in Armenia, Cappadocia, and Phrygia, into those natural surroundings which seem first to have induced in the migrating tribes that mythologizing disposition for which they were ever afterwards famous. In these countries the reäction of nature upon man appears to have been exceedingly strong, and he in turn seems to have been peculiarly sensitive to his environment. The scenery of Phrygia is well calculated to set to work the primitive faculties of man in devising explanations of natural phenomena. It has been alleged by all travelers in the countries south of the Euxine that melancholy is the leading suggestion of the landscape. The early mythology of the Phrygians expressed the feeling which nature inspired. It was a melancholy mysticism, not multifariously inflected as was the system of the Greeks, but expressive rather of an overwhelming



STATUE OF CYBELE.
From the original in British Museum.

Reäctions of nature on the migrant Aryans in Phrygia.

sense of the power of nature and the subordination of man.

The two principal Phrygian deities were Cybele, the Mother, meaning the earth, and Sabazius, the Greek Dionysus. The leading notions expressed in the creation of these deities and in their worship were the vicissitudes of life and death. Cybele was the goddess of procreation. It is believed that death was symbolized in her religious rites by the act of human sacrifice. The ceremonies about the Phrygian altars were as coarse as they were realistic. In the very presence of the deity of the altar place it was a custom to mutilate the priests as an offering; and public prostitution was a part of the adoration of Cybele. It is easy to discover in these horrid practices many touches which must have been de-

Religious cult of Cybele and Sabazius.

SCULPTURES OF GRAECO-ASIANS.—Bas-reliefs from Site of Yasili-Kaia

rived from the degraded Semitic ceremonials east of the Mediterranean; but it is also clear that they contained the germs of that refined and elegant mythology which, in the hands of the

Greeks, became the wonder of the ancient world.

Transfusion of the Phrygian faith among the Greeks.

It was from a Phrygian origin that the rites of Dionysus spread first into Thrace and afterwards into Hellas. The worship of Cybele became the central idea in that of Demeter, at Eleusis. There was a positive recognition of the Phrygian deities in Greece. The poet Pindar is said to have set up a shrine to Cybele at the door of his house. The Delphic oracle was thought to look with favor on the Phrygian gods. In the classical age there was a reäction against the foreign theology, and in the hands of philosophers and comic poets the old system was reasoned and ridiculed out of existence. The preservation, however, of the Mysteries by the Greeks still bore witness to the origin of the prevalent religious system.

In Phrygia the art of the East became human.

One of the points of chief interest relating to the ancient Phrygians was their peculiar artistic skill. It was in their country that the Aryan genius, as it journeyed to the West, first seems to have manifested itself in true artistic concepts and handiwork. All to the east of this meridian may be said to have been Oriental. The art of Assyria and Babylonia seems to be in sympathy with the East. The winged lions of Nineveh, the Egyptian sphinxes, and the Indian gods have all the same reposeful and silent faces, the same mixture of the human and mythological parts, the same combination of the idealistic and realistic elements of human thought and handicraft. It is in Phrygia that art becomes human. It is in the same spirit with that of the later Greeks. If the subject is mythological, the work is natural. From hence the seeds of true artistic form were scattered first to the shores of the Ægean, afterwards in the archipelago, and finally in Hellas.

Revelation of the Troy of the "Iliad."

Here we emerge under the walls of Troy. Doubtless the social and civil development of the Phrygian race culminated in the city of Priam. Whatever may be said of Homer, Troy is a fact—an entity. The site of the heroic metropolis has been identified by Schliemann. The low mound of Hissarlik marks the spot. Explorations and excavations have brought to light the Greek Ilium of the prehistoric era. In fact, not only the Troja of the *Iliad* has been laid bare, but, according to the deductions of the great antiquary, older cities at a greater depth have been exhumed on the same spot. Schliemann holds that the Troy of the Homeric wars extends to a depth of only six and a half feet below the surface, but older relics lie below this level, and deeper than these still older to the depth of fifty-two and a half feet. On the whole, the Homeric delineations of life and manners have been verified, and not contradicted, by the spade and cart of the archæologist, and we are now able to examine and criticise the actual relics of the ancient Phrygian race.

Condition of Trojan society depicted in the "Iliad."

The character of the people and the method of life in the heroic ages have been fully delineated in the immortal pages of the *Iliad*. We speak here of "Iliad." only so much as may be called the Trojan side of the picture. The condition of society in the city of Priam was fully outlined by the great bard. Even the details of manners and customs, the phraseology of the home, the street, and the battlefield are given with such painstaking and iteration as to leave nothing for any subsequent pen. Everything, from the state of Priam's kingdom, the method of his government,

THE PLAINS OF TROY, FROM ERENKEUL.—Drawn by William Simpson, from nature.

and his relations with foreign states, down to love stories and sentimental talk among the Trojan youth, is repeated in the flowing hexameters which have given substance to every subsequent epic written by man, and have furnished by translation and comment an ample knowledge of the heroic epoch to every tribe on the earth having the gift of literature.

For these reasons it is not needed that space should here be given to any extended account of the condition of the people who met the Greeks on the plains of Troy. It is sufficient to say that they were the blossom and fruit of the old Phrygian race, having the same ultimate descent with the Greeks themselves, and that no other people obscured in the shadows of the dawn, wholly dependent for their fame upon the war poems of their enemies, have so shined forth from the darkness with the glories of great character and high purpose upon them as have the warriors, the sages, the princes, and princesses of the buried city of Priam.

Preëminence of the Phrygian character; the race of Teucer.

THE JUDGMENT OF PARIS.—From a Greek vase of the third century B. C.

The recitation of the Trojan legend will never cease to fascinate so long as heroism is reckoned the highest aspect of human life. The city was founded by old Teucer, son of the river god Scamander and the nymph Idæa. For some reason the myth of river birth was peculiarly attractive to the Phrygian race. It was repeated as late as the time of the war with the Greeks. Paris was born like his great ancestor; his father was the river god Cebrinus, and his mother a nymph. The legend re-

fers the old Scamander to a residence in Crete. Teucer was told to plant his city wherever the "earthborn creatures" should attack him. Journeying through the Troad he was beset by mice, which gnawed in twain his bowstrings and those of his companions. So here the oracle was fulfilled, and he built the town of Sminthium, that is, Mouseville. Afterwards Phœbus Apollo of the Homeric fiction took from this place his title of *Smintheus*, or the Mouser.

PSYCHE RECEIVED INTO OLYMPUS.—From the painting by Caravaggio.

Then came Dardanus, son of Zeus and the nymph Electra; that is, the Sky loved the Lightning, Daughter of the Mountain, and Dardanus was born of the marriage. So the land was called Dardania. The people were the Teucri. Afterwards, when Tros succeeded his father Dardanus on the throne, the people became Trojans. Tros took to wife the daughter of Scamander, and three sons, Ilus, Assaracus, and Ganymede, were born. From Ilus and Assaracus two royal houses were derived. The princes of the first were Ilus, Laömedon, Priam, Hector. Those of the other were Assaracus, Capys, Anchises, Æneas. From Ilus the city took the name of Ilium; and, according to Vergil's fiction, the far-off Roman name of Julius was thus derived.

Thus rose and flourished Troy. The earth was too thickly peopled. The gods must destroy some for the good of the remainder. In the Olympian councils war was chosen as the means unto the end. Discord threw the apple among the goddesses. Paris was appointed committeeman to decide its ownership. His reward was Helen. The immortals conspired that he should take her away; but she was the wife of the king. Hospitality was broken. Greece arose in arms. Troy was assailed. Ten years the siege continued. The gods came down from the mountains and fought among the mortal warriors—all for Helen. Then came the insult to the priest of Apollo; the sudden wrath of Achilles; the final stratagem, the wooden horse, the sack and pillage of the doomed town, the accomplishment of fate and destiny.—No other such story has been invented or elaborated or believed by the sons of men.

The gods join issue, Achilles rages, and Troy hurtles down.

The knowledge of the Trojan arts has already been diffused through the world. More recently the explorations of Schliemann have demonstrated the truthfulness of the old literary pictures transmitted by the Greeks. The Trojans were undoubtedly a chivalrous people—active, warlike, pervaded with noble

Knowledge of Trojan arts diffused and perpetuated

HELEN OF TROY.—Drawn by Hieron, from the Spineli cotylos.

sentiments. Their customs and rules of conduct are graphically delineated in the Homeric page and need not be repeated. In some respects the arts had reached a high development. The jewels and ornaments plentifully discovered in the excavations at Hissarlik show conclusively the taste and skill of an accomplished race. The textile fabrics that were worn for garments by the princes and warriors indicated a high measure of attainment in the practical arts. At the same time

the wearing of lions' skins and other trophies snatched by savage conquest from the natural world points to the comparatively recent emergence of the dominant people from the barbaric age.

Though Phrygia was one of the most interesting of the ancient states of Asia Minor, it was by no means the most powerful. The leading place, civilly and politically, belongs to Lydia. The country was centrally situated, and was no doubt immediately in the pathway of migration from the Old World to the New—from the Asiatic nest of races to their dispersion in Europe. As in the case of the other states, the boundaries of the country can not be fixed. They were indefinite, and varied greatly at different epochs.

Place of the Lydians in the highway of migration.

Tradition has preserved the usual stories relative to the founding of the Lydian kingdom. There was a dynasty of the sons of Hercules. As in the case of Phrygia the name Midas is the legendary title of the mythical kings, so, in Lydia, Lydus is the royal name during the fabulous ages. Herodotus tells the story. Lydus was the brother of Mysus and Car. It is the mere duplication of that military chieftainship under which the Aryan tribes in all parts of the world were brought from the migratory into the settled phase of life. From Mysus and Car we have the two geographical names of Mysia and Caria. It is the old story of the division of a territory among three brothers.

Legend of the foundation of the Lydian power.

The old Lydians had a native historian, Xanthus, who flourished about the middle of the fifth century B. C. According to his authority, three successive dynasties held sway over his country. The first, that of the Attyads, is purely mythical. The ancient Aryans always placed a god at the beginning of their dynasties. Herodotus has a story to the effect that Tyrsenus, son of Attys, during the Attyad dynasty, gathered a Lydian colony and went into Etruria. Perhaps the Father of History had had a dream to that effect, and regarded it as historical!

Stories of Xanthus and Herodotus.

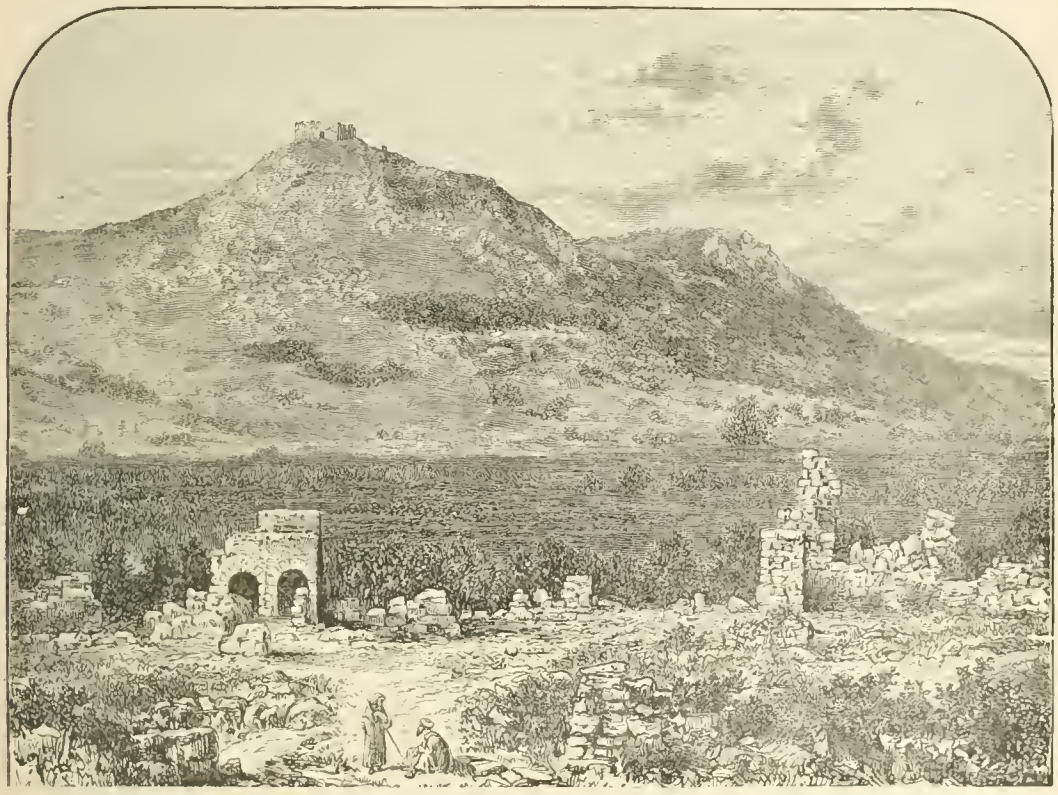
The second dynasty was also divine, or half-divine, in its origin. The names of the kings belonging to this period seem to have been derived from the East. Herodotus says that Omphale, first of this dynasty, was a son of Ninus and a grandson of Belus. As a matter of fact, there was considerable ethnic interfusion among the Lydians from an Assyrian and Babylonian source. We are here in a country far enough to the south to have received certain currents from the countries peopled and civilized by the Semites. This may account for the association in the page of Herodotus of the Lydian dynasty with that of Chaldæa.

Ethnic history, however, is not much concerned with legendary conjectures about the founding of nations. The old credulous story-tellers must be put aside if we would substitute fact for fiction. The real current of Lydian nationality was of Aryan origin, and the development of the kingdom was in the same manner which we have seen exemplified in Cappadocia and Phrygia, but on a more extensive scale.

Lydian race of Aryan descent; invention of coined money.

Antiquaries have drawn from the ancient Lydian monuments and other sources of information many authentic data upon which a tolerably accurate account of the national life may be constructed. It can not be doubted that the Lydians were one of the greatest industrial peoples of antiquity. They have been credited with the invention of

coined money and of many other instruments of barter and general commerce. It is thought that the oldest existing coins, properly so called, are those of the Mermnadæ, or great kings of Lydia. These coins—if so they may be called—were of *electrum*, that is amber, but were probably alloyed with gold and silver. These were used in Lydian commerce until the times of Cræsus, when coins of the precious metals took their place.

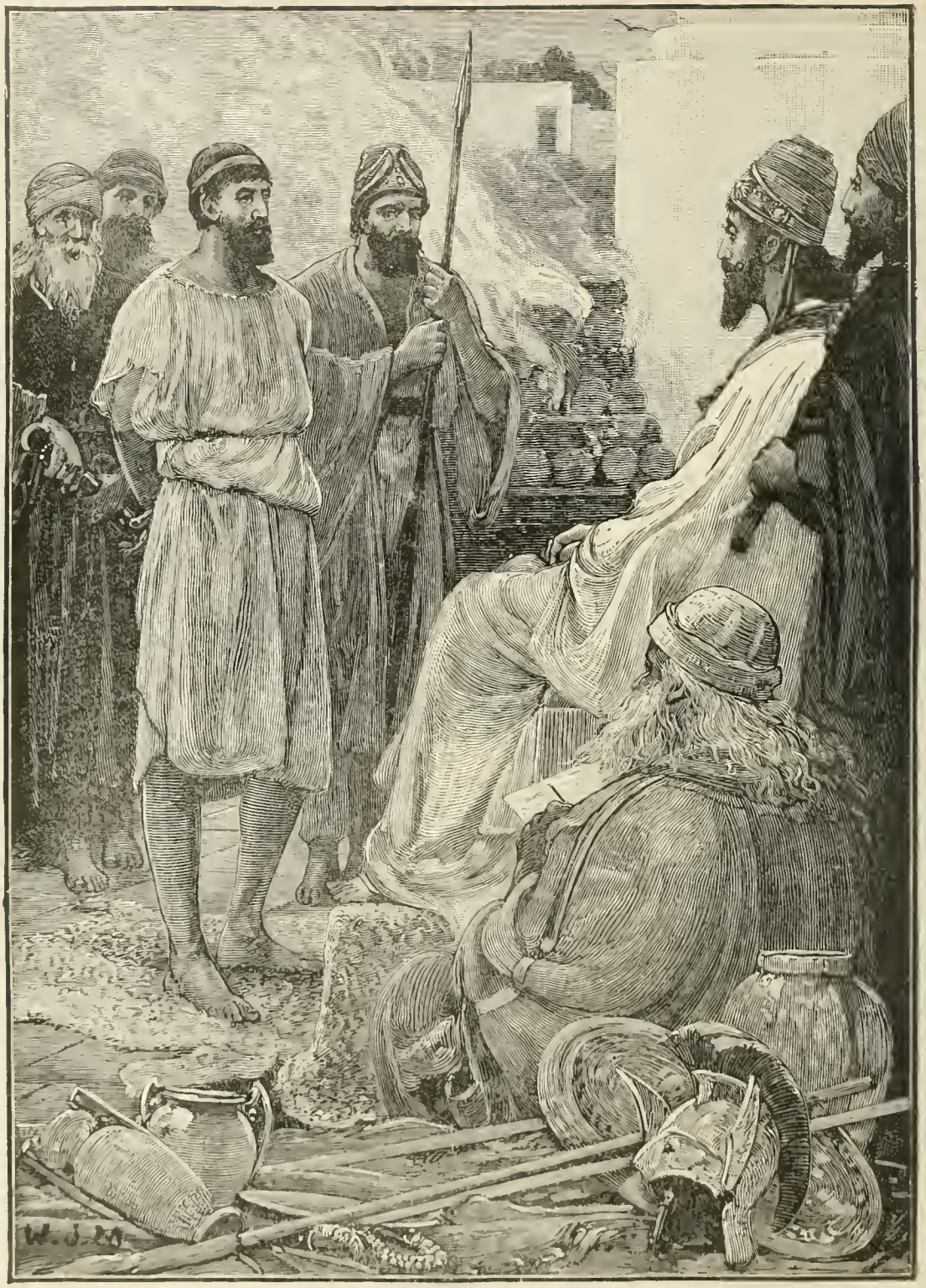


RUINS OF EPHESUS, WITH THE PRISON TOWER.—From a photograph.

Here for the first time in the history of the Aryan race we perceive the ascendency of new forces in the coming national life. It can no longer be said that the religious evolution is dominant over the other elements which were blending in the formation of the Lydian character. They now begin to be placed in contrast with the Eastern Aryans; and the contrast is ever afterwards maintained among the races of Europe. The civil, social, industrial life becomes more than the mythological life, the life of superstition, of awe, of devotion. Not that the Aryan peoples of Asia Minor and, further on, those of Southern Europe, ceased to have the religious instinct, ceased to brood over the problem of existence, ceased to frame explanations of the mysteries of the natural and spiritual worlds, but the peoples of the West henceforth remanded these considerations to a less important place, and became essentially practical in their development.

Beginnings of secular society among the Lydians.

The old Iranians were on the crest between the Oriental and the Occidental tendencies of the human family. From this high ridge of division mankind



ANCIENT LYDIAN TYPE.—CROESUS BEFORE CYRUS.

slope off orientalwards into the valley of the Indus. Mysticism more and more prevails; superstition more and more predominates; the industrial and practical aspect of life is more and more subordinated to the dream of the philosopher and the rhapsody of the devotee. But westward from Iran the tendency is reversed. The Lydians may be called the first great industrial Aryan nation. Their country was such as to suggest the devotion of human energy to the creation of value. Very unlike the mountainous and sterile regions of Cappadocia were the hillsides and valleys of Lydia. Here grew the forest of fir; here sprang the vine; and here rich fields of grain and saffron rose, almost unaided, from the bosom of earth.

Lydians the first of the great industrial peoples.

The climate was mild and healthful. The rivers gave life to the valleys, and their sands were mixed with shining particles. The Pactolus from his fountains in the Tmolus mountains, passing centrally through the country, brought down a burden of gold. Cities that were built on his banks had golden sand in the streets. The region was favored beyond any of the countries which we have thus far described as belonging to the Aryan race. Though the land was sometimes shaken with earthquakes, and the Mæonian plateau on the east was the center of volcanic disturbances, nature was otherwise calm in her aspects and fertile in her resources. The rivers and lakes, such as the Gygæan, in whose waters the remains of pile dwellings like those of Switzerland have been discovered, abounded with fishes, and the native woods of the hill-country furnished the gentler kinds of game.

Distribution of gold; other favoring conditions of nature.

Such were the natural conditions in which the Lydians found themselves at a period fully a thousand years before our era. Duncker has fixed, with approximate certainty, the date of the establishment of the Heraclid dynasty at 1194 B. C. Henceforth Lydia began to flourish and to assume that strongly industrial aspect which the inventive genius of her people and the richness of the country suggested. From this time

SCULPTURES FROM TEMPLE OF DIANA AT EPHESUS.
From original in British Museum.

Beginning of nationality and the industrial life.

may be dated the beginnings of the industrial arts. All of the physical aspects of civilization brightened under the existing conditions, and only the unfortunate place of Lydia on the map prevented the country from rising to a first rank among the ancient nations.

The Greeks were not wont to ascribe to other peoples such arts as they might claim for themselves. Among the foreign races to whom they cheerfully conceded preëminence the Lydians held the highest rank, with only the possible exception of the Egyptians. As early as the days of Homer, Lydia had become a manufacturing state. There were costly garments and rich jewelry.

Fame of the Lydians and their arts among the Greeks.

PHRYGIAN CAPS AND CASQUES.

The weapons worn by the Lydian warriors in battle were considered artistic by the old bard, who was familiar with the splendid armor of the Greeks and the Trojans. The invention of the art of dyeing fabrics with rich hues is conceded to the Lydians. Their purple was famous. The carpets manufactured in Sardis were as preëminent in their kind as are the Turkish rugs which the modern connoisseur imports from Smyrna. It has been conjectured that for fully three thousand years the manufacture of these rich and costly fabrics has continued unbroken in the country where they were first produced.

It was by the Lydians also that the manufacture of those semitransparent fabrics which sufficiently reveal, and yet sufficiently conceal, the beauties of the human form was first begun. Indeed, all the articles from which the finest garments of antiquity—finest as to both their material and their fabrication—

Artistic fabrics; concealment of the person in dress.

were produced, were either invented or manufactured by the skillful spinners and weavers of the Lydian cities. Herodotus has pointed with some wonder to the disposition of the Lydians to discourage nudeness or the large exposure of the body without drapery. Herein was a striking diversity of taste between them and the Hellenes, whose artistic sense was so strong as to make of no effect certain modest dispositions of the human species which have led most races to prefer concealment to the exposure of the form. We may not suppose that the Lydians were wanting in that physical excellence which would have delighted the eye with its curving lines and tints of beauty. It is more likely that the industrial spirit among them and their skill in fabrication led them to encourage the wearing of costly garments, elaborately produced and ornamented.

From this point of view we are able again to see the dividing tendencies between the East and the West. The costume of the Lydians was virtually an abandonment of the Oriental pattern. The old Aryans of the Iranian plateau, and even their Western descendants, the Armenians, still favored the styles of the East. The loose and girded sort of garments still prevailed in the eastern

The Lydians abandon the costumes of the Orient.

parts of Asia Minor, among the Cappadocians, and even the Phrygians; but among the Lydians other patterns, distinctly suggestive of the styles of apparel which were prevalent in classical Europe, and even in more recent ages, appeared, and became characteristic of the people. While the Lydian dress was as brilliant in its color and more complete in its details than those of the East, it tended to a closer and more artistic conformity to the body, revealing its beauty while concealing.

Introduction of new garments and styles of dress.

The Lydians have been assigned the distinction of being the first people to have invented and worn trousers, coats with sleeves, and shoes properly so called. Here are at least three leading articles of apparel to which these ancient people may be said to have dictated the ultimate forms which they now bear among the civilized nations of the West. It is claimed, moreover, that the celebrated Phrygian cap, which has been taken as a model for beauty and majesty in headwear, was invented by the Lydians rather than their eastern neighbors whose name it bears. Wherever on the coins or medals of ancient or modern times, on the summit of liberty poles, on the heads of those ideals which art has devised to express the spirit of freedom or nationality the old Phrygian cap appears, we have, among all civilized nations, a memento of the skill in costume and handicraft peculiar to the ancient Lydians.

Iranian passion for horse-riding subsides with the Lydians.

In one other respect at least this people mark the western limits of a disposition which was peculiarly Aryan. The old race of Iran had for its companion the horse. More than once we have remarked upon the skill with which our ancestral Iranians governed and subordinated this noble animal. Horsemanship was the primitive art of the Aryan race. It has been maintained in several countries to the present time. He who beholds a Persian prince riding through the streets of Ispahan sees the modern representative of the ancient knight who scoured the plains on horseback, outriding the winds. This ethnic characteristic was carried westward with the Aryan migrations, and reäppeared in many of the states where the tribes of this stock established themselves and grew. In the eastern kingdoms of Asia Minor horsemanship was nearly as much cultivated and perfected as it had been in the original seats. As late as the times of the Persian ascendency the Cappadocian horsemen were regarded as the flower of Darius's cavalry; but on reaching Lydia the disposition to ride gave place to the disposition to fabricate. The clatter of horses' feet, beating like the rhythmic pulse of Greek hexameters over hill and plain, gave place to the clatter of the artisan's factory and the merchant's shop. It was in the fertile countries of Western Asia Minor that the fiery race of steeds which had borne their masters for centuries in wild pursuit and wilder flight on the uplands of Iran descended with the hills to the level plains and sank in the sands of the Pactolus and the Mæander.

Absence of the artistic sense and literary disposition.

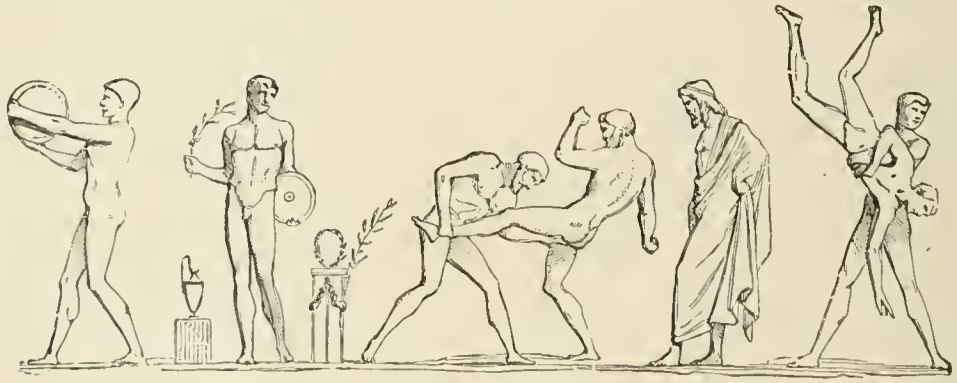
For some reason not easily discoverable this people, remarkable for vital activities and industrial enterprises, highly inventive as it relates to the products of artisanship, were not great in art, and had no literary genius. Owing to these two circumstances, the reputation of the Lydians with posterity has not been fixed on that immovable basis from which have risen the imperishable columns of Egypt and Hellas. Many

phases of Lydian civilization have accordingly perished. In other respects we are dependent for their reputation upon foreign peoples, notably the travelers and historians of Greece, and for the perpetuation of a fame which might otherwise have totally vanished.

Love of gain predominates; Lydian games and music.

It is doubtless true that, like other utilitarian peoples, the Lydians were immersed in the pursuits of gain and in the pleasures consequent upon the possession of wealth. It is conceded that many forms of amusement, afterwards cultivated by the European Aryans, had their origin in Lydia. Games at ball and viviality. The women participated with the men in public feasts and banquets, and this circumstance furnishes another striking example of the great departure which the Western Aryans were making from the old Iranian standards. Already we may discover traces, in this comparative equality of the woman, of that still wider emancipation which she was destined to attain among the Teutonic nations. The Lydian women appearing in public came well clad, uncovered as to her face and head, but closely and elegantly dressed as to her person. In her costume were all those

Society of the Lydians; Sardis a pleasure resort.



LYDIAN GYMNASTS.—After a Greek sculpture.

at dice were learned by Greek adventurers who visited the country and were carried back to the youthful Hellenes, well suited to indulge in such sports and to improve them. It is thought that the flute and the cithara were both of Lydian invention, and that the science of music was cultivated to a degree that led the Greeks to introduce both the instruments and the melodies. The rustic paeans of the older Greeks were thus improved in form and harmony by the superior music of the Lydians.

The people were peculiarly free from care, jocular, sociable. The ancient authors who visited the country could but be struck with the prevailing evidences of elegance and taste to which we have referred above in considering the dress of men. Children also came with their mothers to the banquet. The country became luxurious, and the semi-austere Roman travelers of the later republic, and more notably pleasure seekers from the West, were struck with amazement at the refinements and feasting of the Lydians. It became fashionable for the man of Europe to go on pleasure trips to Sardis, and there to become to a certain extent assimilated with the gay train of revelers. The city was to the earlier classical ages what Paris has been in modern times.

It has been thought by those who have looked into the philosophy of the situation that the reduction of Lydia to a satrapy by the Persians, with the consequent paralysis of the local political life, turned the energies of the people to the social life, which expanded and flourished under the stimulus thus afforded. The reputation of the Lydians for the gayety of their manners, their luxurious style of living, their skill in entertainment, and particularly their musical genius, was handed down first to Europe, then to modern times. Even the saturnine genius of Milton remembered with a thrill the music of this ancient race, as the dancing strophes of *L'Allegro* wound and raveled in his imagination:

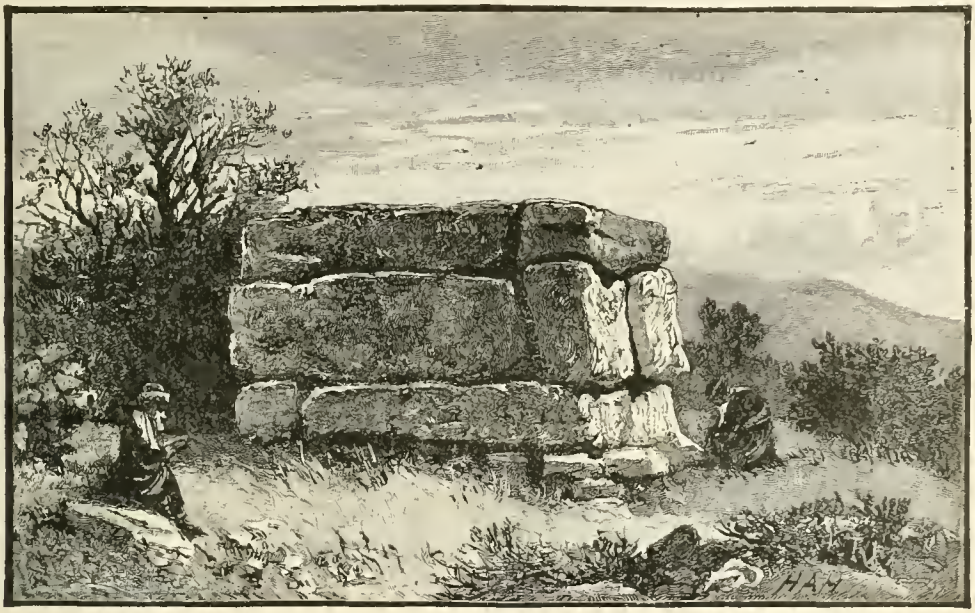
Gayety and luxury of the people; Lydian music.

> "And ever, against eating cares,
> Lap me in soft *Lydian* airs,
> In notes, with many a winding bout
> Of linkéd sweetness long drawn out."

The civilization of Lydia was thus refined rather than substantial. The country held its attractiveness and society its allurements during the whole of the Hellenic and Roman ascendencies. In the eastern part of the country the people retained much of their original character, and were assimilated with the half-barbaric Cappadocians; but in the copious districts of Western Lydia society grew rich and feasted on its own abundance until luxury intervened with a measure of effeminacy.

Reign of refinement; effeminacy follows abundance.

Only in one respect did the Lydians cultivate the more enduring forms of civ



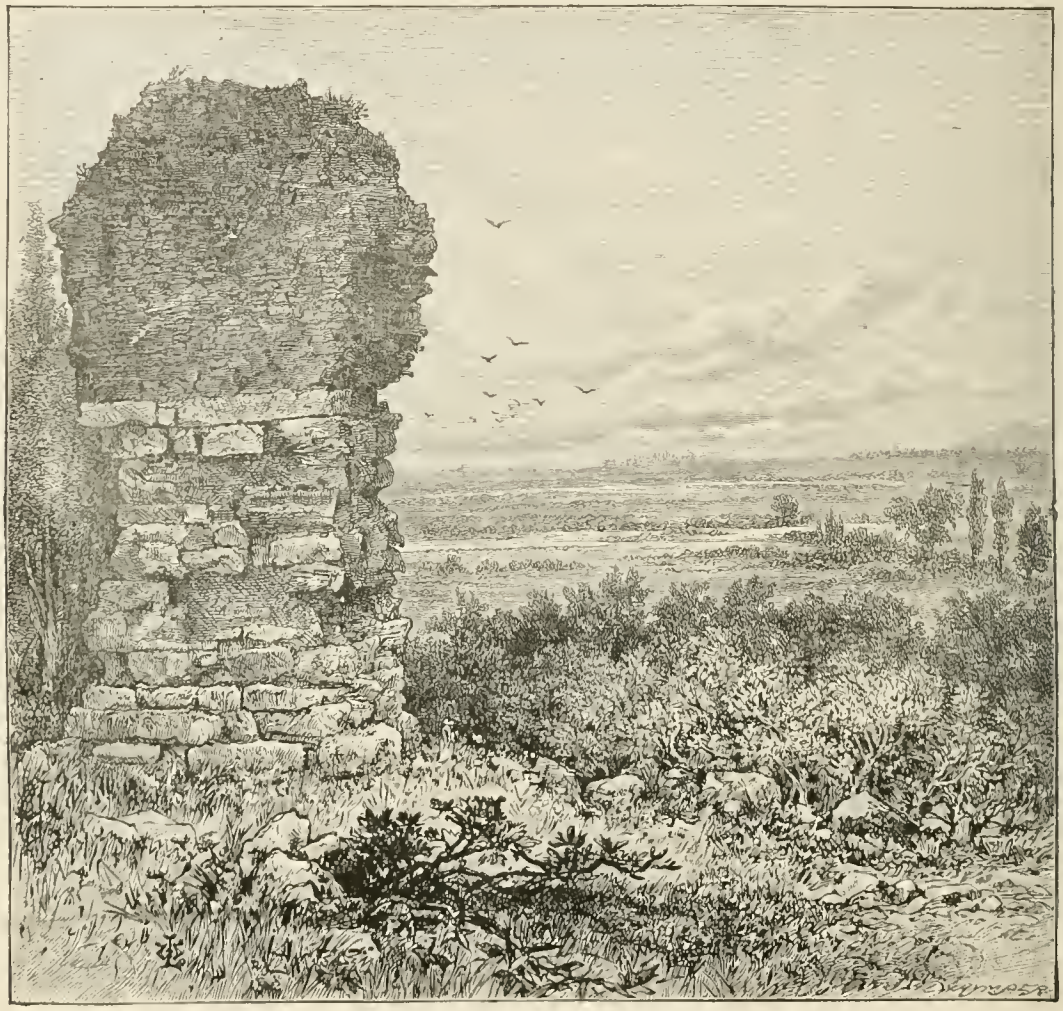
ROCK TOMBS OF THE LYDIANS AT MEIRON.—Drawn by Harry A. Harper, from a photograph.

ilized life. Neglectful of true art and of the advantages of literature, they sought to perpetuate themselves, especially their princes, by the ancient device of monumental sepulchers. Rock tombs, with sculptures and other concomitants in stone, are found in all parts of Asia Minor, from Cappadocia to the Ægean. Lydia is rich in such remains. After the tremendous sepulchral monuments of Egypt those of Asia Minor are perhaps the most imposing and significant existing mementos of the dead.

Strife for immortality by monuments; the Bin Tepe.

About five miles north of Sardis, on a rocky elevation between the Gygæan lake and the river Hermus, the Lydian kings were buried. The place is called the *Bin Tepe*, or the Thousand Hills. The "hills" referred to means the "tombs," which rise to great proportions. and has a circuit of three thousand five hundred feet. The situation of the great mound is such as to look directly across into the ancient acropolis of Sardis.

Under this monument was buried King Alyattes, whose fame is coëxtensive



RUINS OF SARDIS.—From a photograph.

About eighty of them are still in tolerable preservation. Among these, three tumuli are of very great size and importance. The smallest of them is one hundred and ten feet in height and about two thousand feet in circumference; while the greatest rises to an elevation of two hundred and thirty feet, with the Lydian name. Herodotus declares that the tomb of this monarch, "except the work of the Egyptians and Babylonians," is the greatest monument of the kind in the world. There is much in common between these memorials and the pyramids of Egypt. The

Character of the royal sepulchers.

sareophagus is far within, in the center. The dead prince was laid either in a cavity hewn from the native rock, or else in a stone chamber of the strongest masonry. Around this and above was placed heavy stonework, generally circular in form, and the whole was crowned with the tumulus. It is not impossible that antiquarian research, extending to these old vaults of the Lydian kings, will still reveal much of interest relative to the life and manners of the people who reared them.

Lydia, as might be inferred from her industrial and commercial character, was a land of great cities. Many of these were already famous before the age of the Greeks. Besides Sardis, the capital, the cities of Smyrna, Samorna (afterwards Ephesus), Myrina, Cyme, Priene, and Pitane were all of greater antiquity than the municipal development of the Hellenic race. These old Lydian towns were reputed to have been of Amazonian origin. Myrina, Queen of the Amazons, is said to have given her name to the city so called, and the tomb of the mythical princess is still pointed out in the Troad. As to Sardis, it was certainly one of the richest and most luxurious of the early cities of Western Asia. It is believed that the Homeric Hyde, said to have been the capital of the Mæonian chiefs, is the same as the more recent Sardis. It is certain that from the beginning of the eighth century B. C., and even before, to the time when Constantinople became the capital of the East, Sardis continued to be the center of those refinements and luxuries with which her name is ever associated. Amid the ruins on the banks of the Paetolus columns are still standing which mark the site of the temple of Cybele. Under foot are the ruins, not of one city, but of many, and it is believed that few ancient sites would so richly reward the scientific explorer as that of the old Lydian capital.

Principal Lydian cities; Sardis in particular.

In the time of her ascendency Lydia had a quasi sway over several adjacent states. On the north and northwest were Mysia and Bithynia, between which and Lydia the boundaries were fluctuating and uncertain. Bithynia lay on the Euxine, and was in close connection, ethnically and historically, with Thrace. Herodotus, Xenophon, and Strabo all agree that the Bithynians were of Thracian origin; that the line of migration had here doubled back across the Bosphorus into the country south of the Euxine.

Tradition of the descent of the Bithynians.

The country is said to have taken its name from the Thracian tribe called the Bithyni, but there was another tribe, the Thyni, who lay nearer to the Bosphorus, and were, therefore, more likely to be of Thracian descent. There were already aborigines in the country when the Bithyni appeared as conquerors. One of these, the Mariandyni, resisted the invaders and maintained their independence. These lay further to the east, having their territories adjacent to Paphlagonia. According to Herodotus, the Thyni and Bithyni maintained a separate political existence until the age of Crœsus, when they were subjugated by Lydia. Afterwards they were absorbed in the Persian dominions, and were included in the satrapy of Phrygia.

The natural features of Bithynia are more irregular than those of Mysia and Lydia. There are mountains covered with forests. It is, perhaps, the best timber region of Asia Minor, and large deposits of coal are added to the resources of the country. The valleys which open

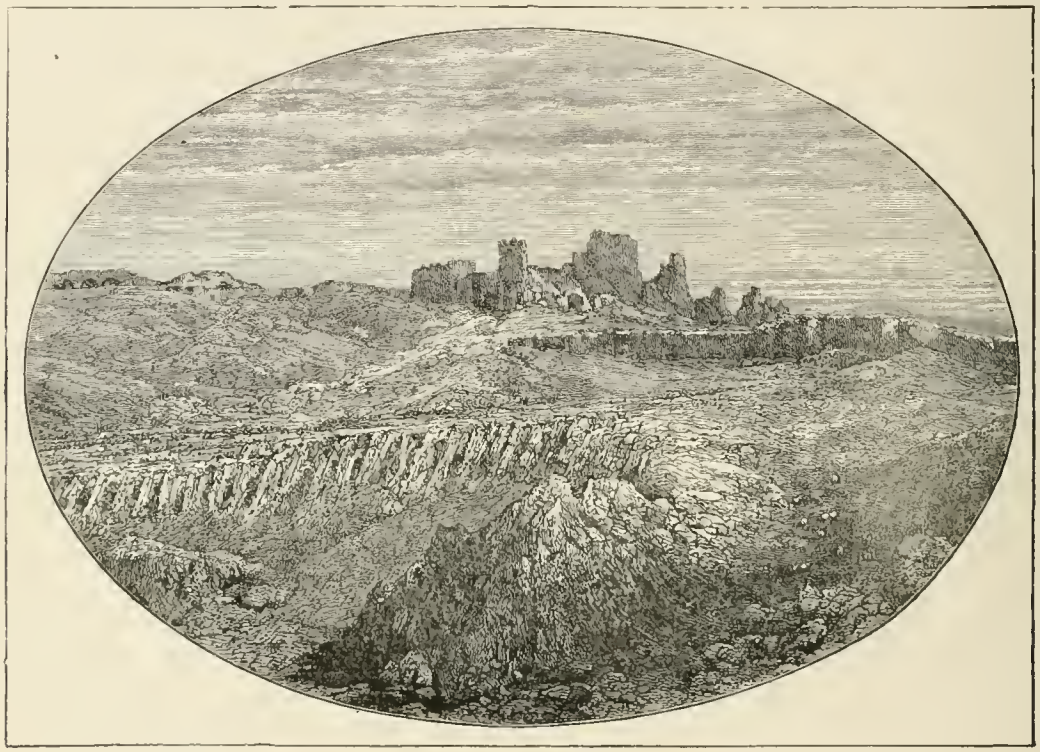
Features and products of the country.

toward the Euxine are rich in fruits and flowers, while that of the Sangarius is fertile in the production of grain. The mulberry flourishes, and the silkworm supplies from the city of Brusa the materials of an extensive manufacture.

Bithynia is the seat of several important cities. The two capitals were Nicomedia and Nicæa, rivals in their own country, and famous in the annals of the Greeks. Chalcedon at the mouth of the Bosphorus, and Heraclea on the Euxine coast, one hundred and twenty miles away, were also celebrated cities during the Hellenic and Roman ascendencies. The industries and commerce of these seaport towns rivaled the trade of the Ægean islands, and drew thither the barks of the Phœnicians.

The Bithynian cities; place of the Mysians.

It is clear that the early populations of Western Asia Minor were greatly interfused. The ethnic lines can be nowhere traced with exactitude. There was not much specific development, but a considerable general display of national growth. Mysia was much less important as a state than Lydia. Herodotus makes Mysus, the head of this tribe, to have been the brother of Lydus and Car. During the Trojan war the Mysians were allies of the Trojans, but their early history is lost in obscurity. Herodotus repeats a story that the Mysians invaded Europe with the Teucrians before the war with Troy, but the story is fiction.



PERGAMOS.

Authentic history touches the Mysians for the first time on the occasion of their subjection to Crœsus, King of Lydia. Afterwards the country was absorbed in the Persian empire, and became a part of the satrapy of Phrygia. Of the Mysian language only a single relic has been preserved. This is the inscription found in the acropolis of Thymbria, which has not

Political vicissitudes of the race; Mysian cities.

yet been deciphered. The most important of the Mysian cities was Pergamon, which flourished at a very early age and afterward became the seat of a great monarchy under the successors of Alexander. Cyzicus, on the Propontis, was a Milesian colony, and was the principal of several Greek settlements which extended around the seashore of this part of Asia Minor. The region here referred to became in after times, under the dominion of the Greeks, the seat of the Æolian confederation.

Caria occupied the southwestern angle of the peninsula. Like the other states of Lesser Asia, its boundaries were indeterminate. The most striking natural feature of the country is the succession of great promontories which run out into the Ægean, including within their protecting walls deep inlets and gulfs, which penetrate far into the land. The gulf of Cos is seventy miles in depth. That of Jasus, on the north, and the great inlet between Miletus and Priene are almost equally capacious. Here were the suggestions of an early maritime and commercial development. Beyond the coast line were numerous islands, many of which were separated from the mainland by only narrow straits. Here lay the great islands of Rhodes and Cos, while Symi, Telos, Leros, Calymnos, Patmos, and many others were at no great distance from the shore.

Place and physical character of Caria; the littoral islands.

The civil and political development of Caria was not strikingly different from that of the northern states, but the ethnography introduces new elements. The race descent of the Carians was doubtless originally common with that of the Lydians, Phrygians, and Cappadocians—that is to say, Aryans; but the departure was greater. Here, moreover, we are plainly under the lines of Semitic and Hamitic influences. The effect of these streams of population winding around the Mediterranean out of Syria was to give to the Carians a more composite character than we have discovered in the northern countries of Asia Minor.

Ethnic descent and development of the Carians.

CARIAN LANDSCAPE.—Cape Ducato.—Drawn by Charles W. Wyllie.

Herodotus, in his garrulous style, derives the Carians from Father Car, thus associating them with the Lydians and Mysians. It is only another specimen of the three-son method of accounting

for the existence of diverging races. In general, the ancient historians speak of the Carians as a different race from the Lycians and Phrygians. Authentic annals give no account of the origin of any of these peoples. The primitive tribes inhabiting the Carian coast and the outlying islands by the Greeks were called Leleges. They were said to have been subject to Minos, King of Crete. They had an early reputation as sailors and adventurers by sea. We have seen that the Bithynians were thought to have been planted by a reflex movement out of Thrace. The Greek tradition gives a similar account of the Carians, who were said to have been driven from their insular position by the Hellenes and compelled to establish themselves on the mainland of Caria.

The three-son story of Herodotus; insular influences.

FRAGMENT OF THE FRIEZE OF THE MAUSOLEUM HALICARNASSEUM.
From the original in British Museum.

These reflex movements may be taken with much allowance. The greater likelihood is that the Carians came with the advance of the Aryan races from the East, and that they were subsequently intermixed not only with an aboriginal population, but with Semites and Hamites, who traversed these regions and planted colonies. It is not unlikely that the Greek tradition of an insular origin for the Carian race was attributable to the wars which the Dorian Greeks had with the Carians early in the historical era. It was on this part of the coast that the Dorians established themselves in a number of colonial cities, known as the Hexapolis, or Dorian Confederation, somewhat famous in after times. Three of these cities were in the island of Rhodes, and the other three on the mainland. The latter were Cos, Cnidus, and Halicarnassus, all of them celebrated seats of intercourse and commerce during the classical ages.

Interpretation of the legends; Dorian confederation.

From the land-side cities of the Dorians the Greek population gradually spread along the coast and then subordinated the whole country; but the Carians maintained an independent existence in the interior, and were recognized as a distinct race to a late day. At the present time the mountain regions in the eastern parts of Caria are inhabited by a people who call themselves Xebeks, who are believed to be the modern descendants of the ancient people. They are said to preserve certain distinguishing marks, traits of character, manners, and customs which are so clearly in analogy with those of the primitive race as to leave little doubt that the existing tribes are the descendants of the old Carians.

The Greek ascendency; race origin of the Xebeks.

APHRODITE.
From a medal of Cnidus.

If from the southwestern angle of Asia Minor we pass eastward along the Mediterranean coast, we shall traverse the ancient states of Lycia, Pisidia,

Pamphylia, Lycaonia, and Cilicia, at the eastern borders of which we touch Syria, and are lost in the Semitic countries. There is perhaps no region of the earth an ethnic classification of whose ancient and modern peoples would be more difficult on general principles than that which we here traverse from Halicarnassus to Antioch.

Semitic border of Asia Minor; descent of the Lycians.

Among the different races lying along this coast, perhaps the Lycians were the most important. The country is a promontory, or at most a peninsula, held in place on the north by the ridge of Taurus. Herodotus says that the primitive people dwelling here were the Termilæ; and for once the assertion of the Father of History is verified by the inscriptions of the country; for the native name *Tramilæ* has been recovered from stone slabs and architraves in the country. The story of Herodotus gives also the name of the aborigines, who were called Milyans, and we may accept this also as correct. But the Cretan origin which he assigns for the Lycians must be rejected, as well as his other reference to an ancestor named Lycus, son of Pandion.

The Lycians have a singular political history. They were able in the first ages to defend themselves against the growing power of the Lydians. They succeeded in maintaining their independent existence during the whole Lydian ascendency, and when that country yielded to the Persians and became a satrapy in the empire, the Lycians stood up against the armies of Cyrus with a courage that would have done credit to the Greeks. At last, however, they were subdued by Harpagus, the general of Cyrus; but their final resistance, when they were hemmed in to their capital city of Xanthus, was memorable and heroic.

Political career of the race; the Lycian antiquities.

Within the present century the attention of antiquaries and ethnologists has been turned with special interest to the monuments of the ancient Lycian race. The country has been found to be unusually rich in remains of a prehistoric civilization. In the years 1838–40 Sir Charles Fellows made explorations through Lycia, and called the attention of the British Government to the country as a splendid field for antiquarian research. An expedition was accordingly sent out, and the British Museum has been enriched with a great addition of valuable memorials from Lycia. These have been drawn for the most part from the sepulchral monuments of the country.

The relics are among the most interesting which have been recovered from Asia Minor. There is found among the sculptures and architectural remains a strong likeness to the art of the Greeks, but in addition to this a certain native style of building and decoration has been discovered, which is said to possess features remarkably like those of the Elizabethan era in England. In addition to the tombs which were opened by the English antiquarians, many ancient Lycian theaters were explored and their character determined. These are in close analogy with the amphitheaters of the Greeks, and the inscriptions are also Greek in their sentiment and style.

Deductions from architectural remains and inscriptions.

ANTIQUE VESSEL AND MEDAL OF LYCIA. From a vase in the Cabinet of Medals, National Library.

But far more valuable than any deductions from the architectural remains

of the Lycians are the linguistic discoveries which the inscriptions have furnished. These are in the native language of the country. The characters employed are of a kind hitherto unknown; but fortunately for the information of mankind, several inscriptions were bilingual, one of the languages being Lycian and the other Greek. The latter has been deciphered with little difficulty and a translation thus obtained of the original Lycian. The circumstance is exactly similar to that of the famous Rosetta Stone of Egypt, which first gave to scholars the true clue to the hieroglyphics. A restoration has been effected of a considerable portion of the native language of Lycia, and the striking feature discovered is that the vernacular speech of the country was *in close analogy with Zend*, thus fixing its origin in the Aryan stem. The discovery is of extreme importance, as it has tended more than any other single fact to determine the race character of the ancient populations of Western Asia Minor.

Bilingual tablets lead to a knowledge of the language.

The Lycian language, thus in some slight measure restored, was also in affinity with the Greek. There had evidently been, before the development of the written system, a mingling of the two races. In the restoration of the Lycian alphabet it was found that twenty-four of the letters had been formed after Greek models; that is, they appeared to be only variations from the established uncial forms of Old Greek. It was discovered, moreover, that the alphabet and the dialect itself lay close alongside the Dorian variety of the Hellenic speech. Dorian is the most antique dialect of the Greek. So it is evident that the relationship between Lycian and Greek was established at a period very remote. In the case of such discovery, however, it must always be borne in mind that the relative priority of the two tongues is still an open question. Was Lycian a derivative of Dorian, or vice versa? Back of this question even lies the other more important one, Were not both languages derived from a common tribal vernacular far more archaïc than either? In fact, of all conjectures, the latter is most reasonable and most in accord with what we know of other similar instances of derivation.

Strong likeness of the Lycian language to Old Greek.

We have here, then, in the extreme southwest of peninsular Asia a people who are evidently of Aryan descent. Though they were maritime; though they lay directly under the lines by which all the primitive Syrian tribes would make their way into Europe, whether by land or sea; though they were out of the direct path of the Western Aryans en route for the archipelago and continental Europe; though they were held from that pathway by the ridge of Taurus; nevertheless, some branch of the primitive stock made its way of old into the Lycian promontory, and gave a fundamental ethnic character to the people who were afterwards developed therein.

The Lycians classified ethnically by means of language.

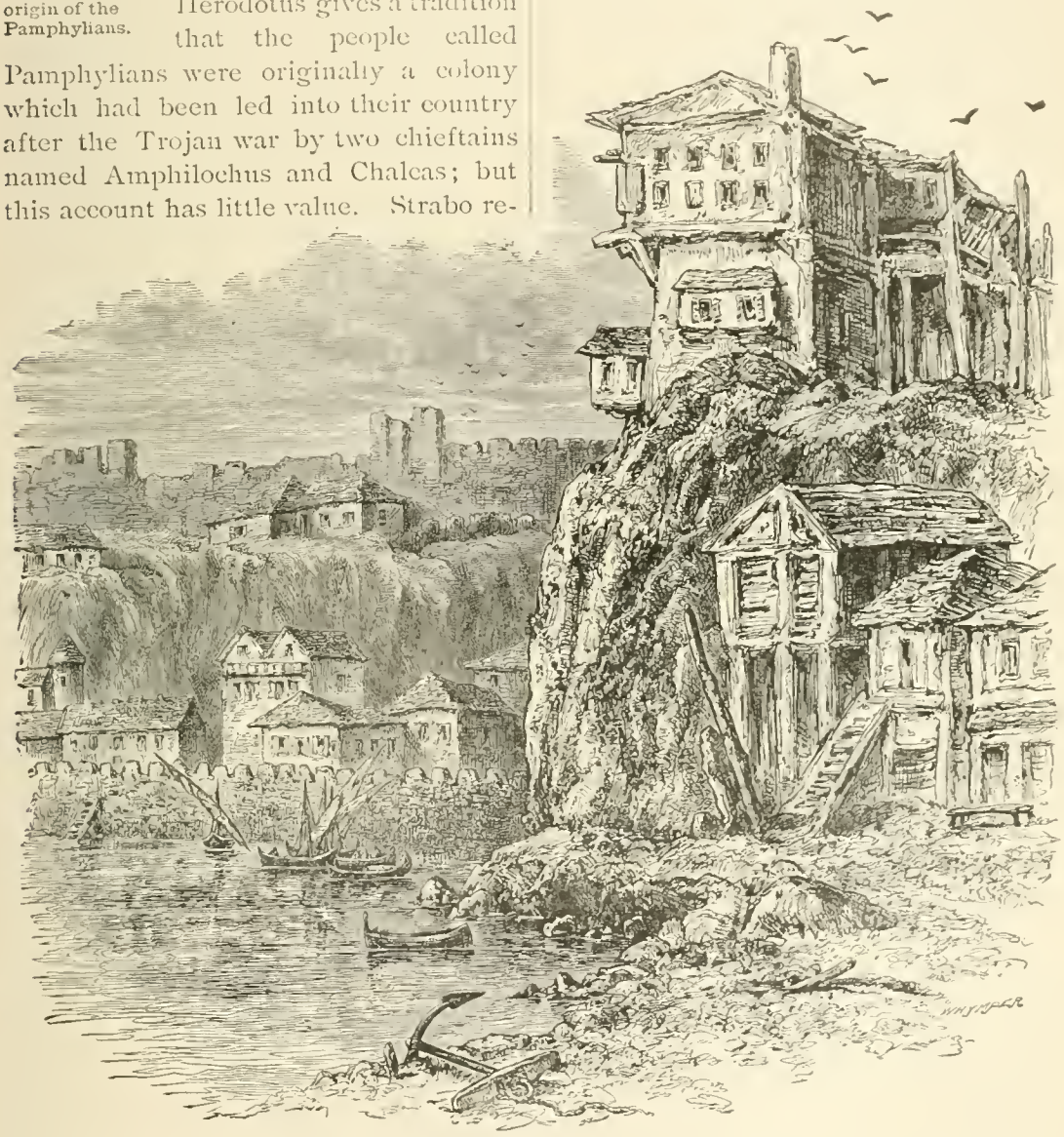
The reader who glances even casually at these circumstances can not fail to observe the exceeding value of linguistic information in determining the race dispersion of ancient tribes and peoples. In fact, without this unmistakable linguistic trace it would have been impossible for modern scholars, in the face of tradition and ancient lore and fixed opinion and superstition itself, to determine with scientific accuracy in what

Great value of linguistic science in ethnology and history.

way and into what parts the families of men were originally distributed.

Passing eastward from Lycia we enter Pamphylia, a narrow coast country, well known to the ancients. Herodotus gives a tradition that the people called Pamphylians were originally a colony which had been led into their country after the Trojan war by two chieftains named Amphilochus and Chalcas; but this account has little value. Strabo recites the same story. Coins recovered from some Pamphylian cities have been noticed to bear inscriptions in letters resembling Greek, but the language was evidently a barbarous dialect. The Pamphylians were not known in ancient times as an independent nation. Little mention of them is found before the age of Crœsus, when Lydian conquest was extended over all the adjacent countries of Asia Minor, Pamphylia with the rest.

Tradition of the origin of the Pamphylians.



VIEW OF ATTALEIA.—From a sketch of C. J. Danford.

At a later period, when the Roman ascendency had extended over Western Asia, Pamphylia, in common with Cilicia, was a seat of piratical power sufficiently portentous to give alarm even to

The country a seat of piracy: mixed race character.

Rome. It is now believed that the Pamphylian seaport town of Side was the principal nest of those freebooters who

KURDISH WARRIOR OF BORG—MODERN CILICIAN.—TYPE.
Drawn by J. Laurens, from nature.

for a long time terrorized every nation around the Mediterranean. Of the language, traditions, and arts of the Pamphylians little is known. Though we may ascribe to them an Aryan origin, it is likely that the interfusion of Semitic peoples was here more considerable than in Lycia and the Western states.

Of the Pisidians, the next people toward the east, no mention is made by Herodotus. Nor are they enumerated as among the races subjected by the Lydians and afterwards by the Persians. There is no separate classification of Pisidian troops in the army of Xerxes, but at a later period they furnish the occasion for the expedition of Cyrus the Younger into Asia. Xenophon, in the *Anabasis*, relates that the Pisidians, by constant aggression upon their neighbors, brought on a conflict in which the Greeks of Asia Minor, and finally the Spartans, participated. This drew into that country the army of Greeks, of which Xenophon himself was a soldier, the ostensible object of Cyrus being to put down the Pisidians, while his real object was the crown of his brother, Artaxerxes Mnemon.

Meager knowledge of Pisidians; Xenophon's narrative.

Of the tribal descent and ethnic connections of the Pisidians nothing is known. Some ethnographers have thought them to be identical with the Milyans of Homer, while others have referred their origin to the ancient Solymi; but Strabo declares that the languages of the Solymi and the Pisidians were distinct. The country was a mountainous region, and several ancient tribes were known to dwell in the fastnesses, the principal of which were the Cabali and the Milyans.

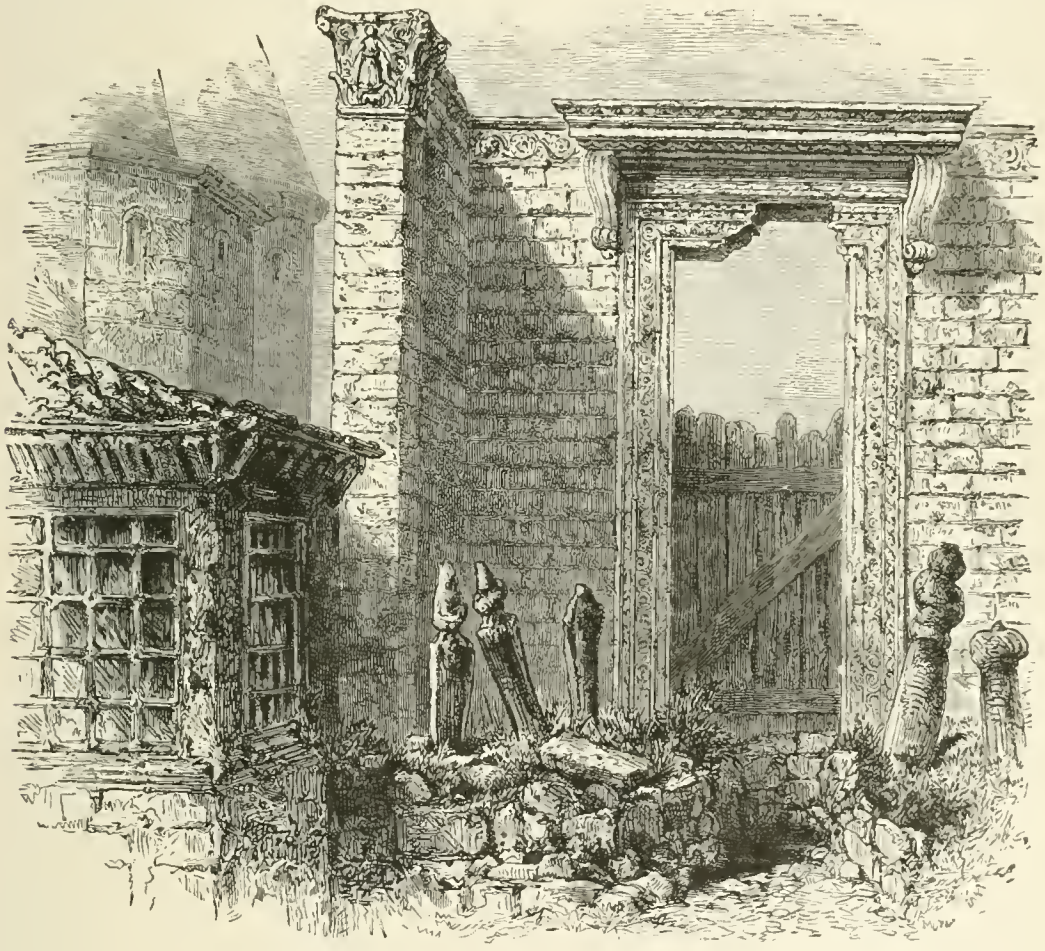
Little known of ethnic relationships or history of the race.

The same uncertainty exists relative to the ethnic character of the Cilicians. At the present time the fertile plains of this province are overrun with hordes of Turcomans and Kurds, and the country is devoted to pastoral and nomadic

Cilician race in like obscurity; the Syrian border.

pursuits; but these circumstances furnish but little clue to the character of the ancient inhabitants. If we are to accept the assertion of Herodotus, that Cilicia extended on the east to the river Euphrates, it is manifest that the population would be Semitic; and it can not be doubted that a large percentage of this stock, that is, of the Aramaïc branch thereof, had entered the Cilician country.

We are here, however, on the borders of Syria and may, on general principles, expect a decline in Aryan influence. The coast region from Pamphylia to Antioch is separated on the north from Lycaonia and Cappadocia by mountain ranges, and for this reason is less likely to have received a primitive population of Aryans. It was these shores, with their numerous inlets, bays, and obscure rivers that furnished, during the latter years of the Roman republic, a nest for the piratical empire, for the overthrow of which Pompey the Great was finally sent out, to the imminent hazard of the Roman fleets and his own military reputation.



RUINS OF ANCYRA GALATIA.—After Charles Texier

The remaining province of Asia Minor, as it existed in the classical times, is Galatia, an inland country lying east of Phrygia. Its position in the ethnic scheme of Western Asia is anomalous. Perhaps no other country, ancient or modern, has re-

Anomalous position of Galatia; its ancient inhabitants.

IONIAN CITY OF ZANTE.—Drawn by Charles W. Wyllie

ceived its leading population under circumstances so extraordinary. Originally Galatia was included, at least in part, with Phrygia. There can be little doubt that in common with the other countries of Asia Minor there were aborigines in these regions whom the Aryans overcame in their migrations westward. No doubt Galatia had at one time a population of Aryan extraction. The geographical position of the country would seem to forbid any other conclusion, but the strange fact in the ethnic history of the country is the incoming of a Gallic, that is a Celtic, race from the West.

It was this Gallic invasion of 277 B. C. which gave the name to the country.

Story and results of the Gallic invasion.

It appears that a great body of Celts, turning back from the western parts of Europe, as we have shown in the former book, came upon Northern Greece, under the leadership of their great chieftain, Brennus, and reduced the northern countries to their sway. One division of these invaders crossed over into Asia Minor and made their way into the center of the peninsula, where they settled into permanent occupancy. The race was divided into three tribes, the Trocmi, the Tectosages, and the Tolistobogii, distributed respectively in the eastern, the central, and the western parts of Galatia. They became a nation detached from their own ethnic stem by a geographical space of nearly two thousand miles. The national development was strong and substantial, and the nation was sufficiently robust to interpose a strong barrier against the progress of the Roman empire in the East.

We have now considered all the leading peoples of Asia Minor with the exception of the Greek colonists of the coast. Of the establishment of these peoples in the places where we find them in the dawn of the historical era we shall have occasion to speak in the following chapter. To what extent, historically speaking, these Greek colonies —Æolia, Ionia, and Doria—were the result of the growth of an original people common with the Greeks, distributed along the eastern shore of the Ægean, and to what extent they resulted from a later colonization, as the Greek historians would have us believe, it is impossible to determine. Doubtless both movements coöperated in peopling the coast, as well as the adjacent islands, with races of Hellenic descent.

Traditional origin of the Greek colonies in Asia Minor.

The spread of the Aryans westward from Armenia through peninsular Asia, and their establishment there in many states of comparatively small dimensions and not of much historical importance, well illustrates the nature of that general diffusion by which the world has been peopled. It also shows in strong light a race tendency of the Western Aryans, as distinguished from their kinsmen who migrated eastward from the original seats. The west-bound nations broke up, conformed to the geographical environment, took on a multifarious development which has for each its own line of evolution and race character, until the resulting peoples exhibited even within narrow territorial limits great diversity in institutions and languages.

Diffusion of mankind illustrated in the spread of the Greeks.

Asia Minor illustrates well this principle of ethnic growth. It also foretokens what we are now prepared to consider, the conspicuous example of race expansion in the Hellenic family. Western Asia Minor slopes off into Hellenic conditions, and at the coast exhibits features scarcely distinguishable from those presented by the Greek peoples of the archipelago and the mainland of Hellas.

CHAPTER XLV.—ABORIGINES OF HELLAS.

IT has been remarked that the ethnologist and historian are absolutely baffled in the attempt to discover the beginnings of tribal life in any quarter of the world. There are always suggestions of *a lower stratum* underlying the first ascertainable movements of man on the earth. The first people find another people before them, and these if they could be interrogated, would find still another. The races of men have thus been successively superimposed, and we are obliged to be content with the discovery of what is only *approximately* the aboriginal state of man.

Nowhere are these facts more clearly verified than in primitive Europe. We are able to discover indistinctly the first tribes of the Aryan race on this continent. The movement was migratory, wave following wave from the East. With the help of the historic imagination we can trace many imperfect outlines of the incoming and distribution of the ancestors of the Greeks and Romans, the Teutons and the Celts. But while investigating this dim period in remote human history, we come, ever and anon, upon the vestiges of preceding races. Europe was not only habitable, but inhabited by many peoples long before the first man of our own ancestral stock touched the shores this side of the Ægean and the Hellespont. This epoch of pre-Aryan history opens up a vista of facts and surmises the investigation of which will, perhaps, never be satisfactory to the inquirer. Too much has been lost of this early estate of man to admit of any complete delineation of his life and manners; only vestiges remain.

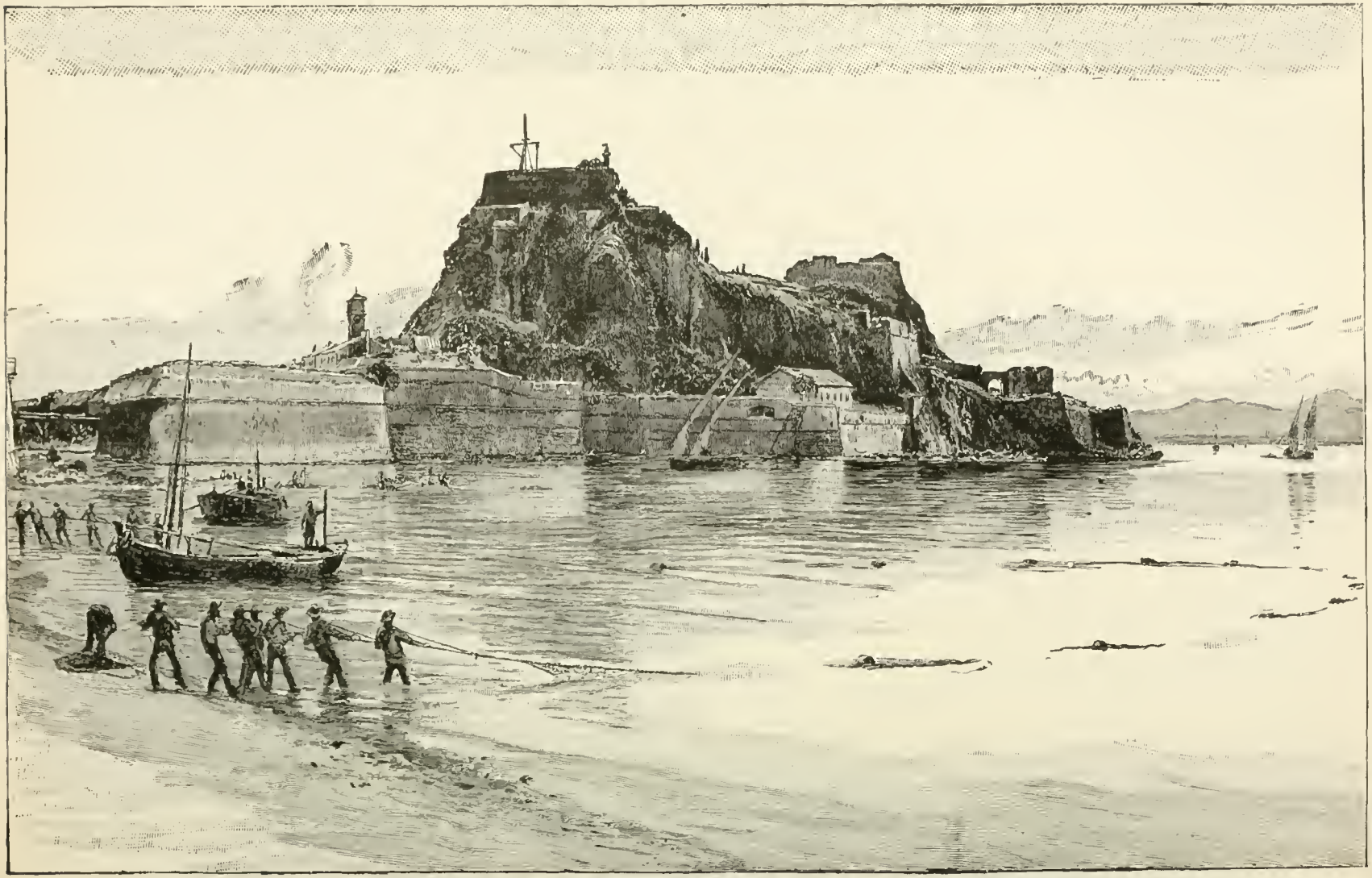
Primitive Europe shows the universality of aborigines.

The attempt will be made in the present chapter to note some of the most primitive aspects of life which are dimly outlined in the prehistoric ages in the southeastern peninsula of Europe. It was known—well known—to the Greeks themselves that another people had preceded them in Hellas and the Ægean islands. Like knowledge was possessed by the Latin gens relative to the pre-historic peoples of Central Italy. Neither the Greeks nor the Latins, however, were at all disposed to dwell upon the character and manner of life of the peoples that preceded them in their respective countries. The early Hellenic historians and philosophers gloze the matter over, devoting their whole energies to the glorification of their own ancestry and passing by as barbarous the achievements of the other peoples with whom they had come into contact on entering the country.

Greeks and Romans ignore their precedent races.

The historical and archæological investigations which have been carried forward by patient industry and under the guidance of scientific methods, in the present century, have thrown much light on the period which we are now to examine. But many things still remain obscure. One of the points still undetermined is the race affinity of the primitive peoples of Hellas and Italy with the great Celtic race distributed in the western parts of Europe. The Celts are, of course, of Aryan descent, being allied in their ultimate ancestry with the

Question of the race affinity of the Hellenic aborigines.



ASPECT OF INSULAR EUROPE FROM THE MEDITERRANEAN.—Corfu and Citadel.—Drawn by Charles W. Wyllie.

Greeks, the Romans, and the Teutonic races. But it is not known whether the primeval tribes which were found by the immigrating Hellenes and Latins in their respective peninsulas were of the same stock with the Celts or of a totally different descent. Some ethnologists have been disposed to regard the Pelasgians of Greece and Italy—which people we are now to consider—as the earliest local results of the Celtic immigration into Europe; that is, it is held that the incoming Celts *dropped* certain of their tribes in the Hellenic peninsula, and afterwards still others in Central Italy, while the more radical and restless branches of the race pressed on to the west, until they found insuperable barriers to further progress in Spain, in Gaul, and in Britain.

Greek Pelasgians the probable residue of the Celtic migration.

The idea is that the Greek Pelasgians were themselves of a common substance with the Celtic wave which overspread at first the southern parts of Europe and afterwards the western and northwestern regions of the continent. Other historians have held, with perhaps equal grounds of confidence, the opinion that the pre-Hellenic as well as the pre-Italic peoples of the southern peninsulas were of a totally different stock from the Celts, and that they were deduced either from a Semitic source, by way of Phœnicia and the East, or that they were of Hamitic origin, being allied with the Egyptians and the Cushites. The question remains undecided, and the reader is obliged to content himself with the statement rather than the solution of the problem.

But the Pelasgians were nevertheless a fact—the great fact in the primitive history of the Grecian peninsula. The extent and dispersion of their tribes through the country can not be well ascertained, but the principal seats of the race are well known. When the first Hellenic tribes, drifting into Greece by way of the Ægean islands or down through Thrace from their former home in the highlands of Phrygia, touched the mainland, they found the older people there before them. The extent and variety of the wars by which the Pelasgians were jostled from their settlements, displaced, driven back to the remote and mountainous parts of the country have no authentic record—scarcely the outline of a tradition. None the less, such a dispossession of Greece actually took place, and the Hellenes became dominant, planting the germs of a new development in the country.

Obscurity of Pelasgian displacement by the Greeks.

The Greek authors give incidental sketches of the character and manner of life of the people that preceded them. They are described as barbarians, and perhaps the epithet is justified as it relates to the Pelasgic race in most parts of the peninsula. But in some districts the people had made considerable progress toward the civilized condition. The western seat of this Pelasgic development, indeed the national center of the aggregation of tribes, was at Dodona, in Epirus. The fame which this locality acquired and ever afterwards maintained was traceable to the fact that the place was the nucleus of the Pelasgian traditions and religion. Here the Dodonian Zeus was worshiped by the primitive race with such solemnity that the Greeks adopted the cult of their predecessors.

Greek sketches of their predecessors; the Pelasgic Zeus.

It is well known to what extent the superstitions of Dodona afterwards entered into the general mythology and religious ceremonials of the Greeks. The situation was very similar to that which,

OAKS OF DODONA.—Drawn by H. Clerget, after a sketch of M. H. Belle.

many centuries later, was present in Britain, where the old Druidical ceremonial, having its center and virtue in the oak woods, perpetuated itself into the epoch of the Saxons. The Hellenes, however, were more willing to accept previous beliefs and practices than were the stubborn Teutonic barbarians of our ancestral island.

The Dodonian cult enters into Greek mythology.

The Pelasgians, at least the frontier tribes, are described as a barbarous people of the woods. They were shaggy hunters, rough in manners, and truculent in character. As late as the times of Homer references to the primitive people of Epirus and Achaia are common in poetry and story; and there is always a touch of contempt for the barbarous life of the people referred to. The Achæans, whose name among the cultured Greeks was a synonym of barbarity, were supposed to be a mixed race, deducing many of their elements from the original Pelasgic tribes.

Barbarous character of the Epirotes and Achæans.

If Dodona and the west were the principal seat of Pelasgic tradition and mythology, the east and south of Hellas were the center of progress and power. It was in the Peloponnesus that the best development of the Pelasgic race occurred. But in other parts of the peninsula, as far north as Thessaly, in portions of Bœotia, in Attica itself, the remains of this old race are abundantly discoverable. Such remains are truly monumental. The Pelasgians, in their own day, had what may be called an international fame. They were known to the Egyptians, and are mentioned many times in the sculptures of the Nile valley. The Egyptian philosophers were wont to claim kin with the Pelasgians of the Ægean islands and the mainland, and to patronize them on account of their skill as builders. It is in the latter regard that the Pelasgic race has its fame with posterity.

Evidences of Pelasgian ascendency in Southern Hellas.

Underlying the monumental remains of the Hellenic race in Greece and Ionia, and in places distant from the seat of that magnificent people, are the remains of another people, who were in some degree the fathers of Hellenic architecture. It is as masons, as builders in stone, that the Pelasgians have astonished all succeeding peoples, and as late as the last quarter of the nineteenth century the astonishment has been intensified by a more careful and scientific examination of the ruins left behind by the primitive builders of Pelasgia.

Superiority of the race as builders manifested in Argos.

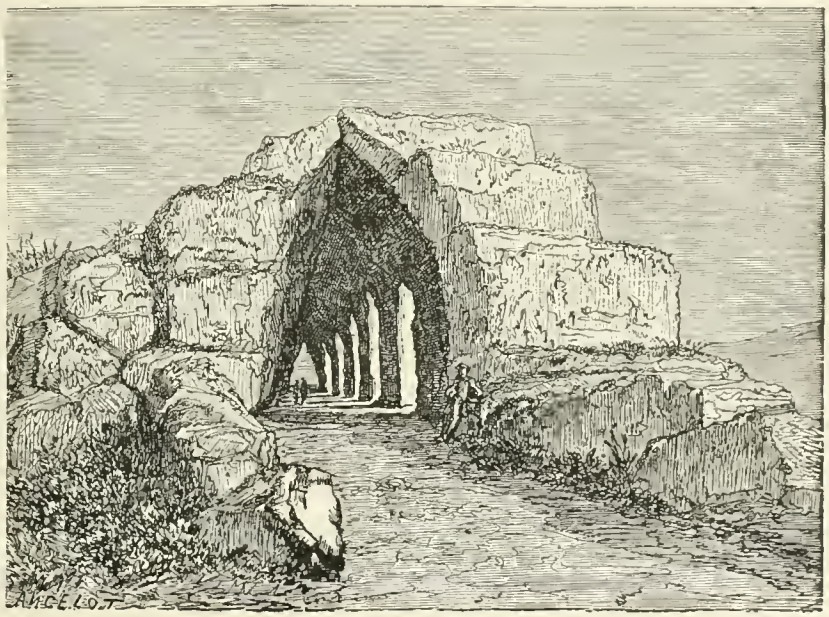
Perhaps the most remarkable of these monumental remains are those found in the ancient state of Argos, in Southern Greece. This territory seems to have been the seat of the military power of the Pelasgians. The ancient capital was Tiryns, a short distance from the more recent Argive capital. The ancient city was not only the center of population, but a military acropolis. It was situated on a rocky elevation in the marshy plain of Argolis, three miles from the sea. Tradition among the Greeks chatted about the founders of this stronghold and the date of its founding. The work was said to have been done by the hero Proteus, who preceded by some generations the hero Perseus in Greece.

Situation of Tiryns; fame of its masonry.

Tiryns was said to have been the early home of Hercules. But it is not with tradition but with fact that we have here to deal. And the tremendous fact under consideration is the massive masonry which remains to this day in attestation of the skill and power of the primitive builders. So heavy is the stone

work of these ruins that Pausanius did not hesitate to compare the fortifications for massiveness with the pyramids of Egypt. It was current among the Greeks that the gigantic Cyclopes were the builders of the Tirynthian walls which were thought too great to be the work of mortality. To this day the name *Cyclopean* preserves the ancient tradition of the ruins.

Attempts have been made to fix the date of the time of the city of Tiryns and the Pelasgian ascendency in Greece. It may be safely stated that the same occurred not later than the eleventh century before our era. The fortifications, the palace, and other public buildings of Tiryns continued to exist until 468 B. C., when the Hellenic Argives of the neighboring city of Argos succeeded in destroying and partly obliterating the old Pelasgian capital. During the period of Grecian ascendency the old race and its architectural ruins were first ignored and then forgotten. It has remained for recent times to explore the memorials of pre-Hellenic greatness, and to describe them with scientific accuracy.



AN ENTRANCE WAY AT TIRYNS.

Date and vicissitudes of the city.

The rocky elevation on which the citadel of Tiryns was built has a length of three hundred and thirty yards and a breadth of one hundred and twelve yards at its widest part. This area is encompassed with a wall which, for massiveness, is hardly surpassed by any ancient or modern masonry. The wall is from thirty to forty feet in thickness, and was originally about fifty feet in height. The method of building was skillful in the last degree, and was in close analogy with the massive stonework, to be hereafter described, on the plateau of the Andes, in South America. The stones employed were so massive that Pausanius says that the lightest of them would be a load for a yoke of mules. The outside stones were cut and dovetailed into each other in a manner most ingenious, and with special reference to securing immovability in the structure. In the outer layers no dependence was placed on mortar or any like artificial means of binding together. All depended on the masonry proper. The interior of the wall, however, was made up of stones which were held in place by mortar and by the cut stonework with which they were braced on both sides.

Dimensions and massive ramparts of Tiryns.

The stones in this great monument are dressed with hammers, and the work is done with astonishing accuracy. Through

the wall there was one great gateway, which is believed to have resembled what Schliemann has called the Lion's Gate, at Mycenæ. There were other passages through the walls, but they were narrow and easily defended. Within the great circumvallation here described the citadel was divided into parts by cross walls almost as massive as those of the circumference. Within the inclosures thus formed the outlines of several important structures have been determined. The foundations of the royal palace have been made out and the plan of structure ascertained. The building was surrounded by a stone rampart, and within this was another, everything being arranged with respect to seclusion and defense. There was a main gate defended by a tower, and from this there was a passage extending to an inner gate, and thence to the courts of the palace. There was a great court, fifty-three by seventy feet in dimensions, in which an altar was erected, with a pit or arena alongside to receive the blood of the sacrificial victims.

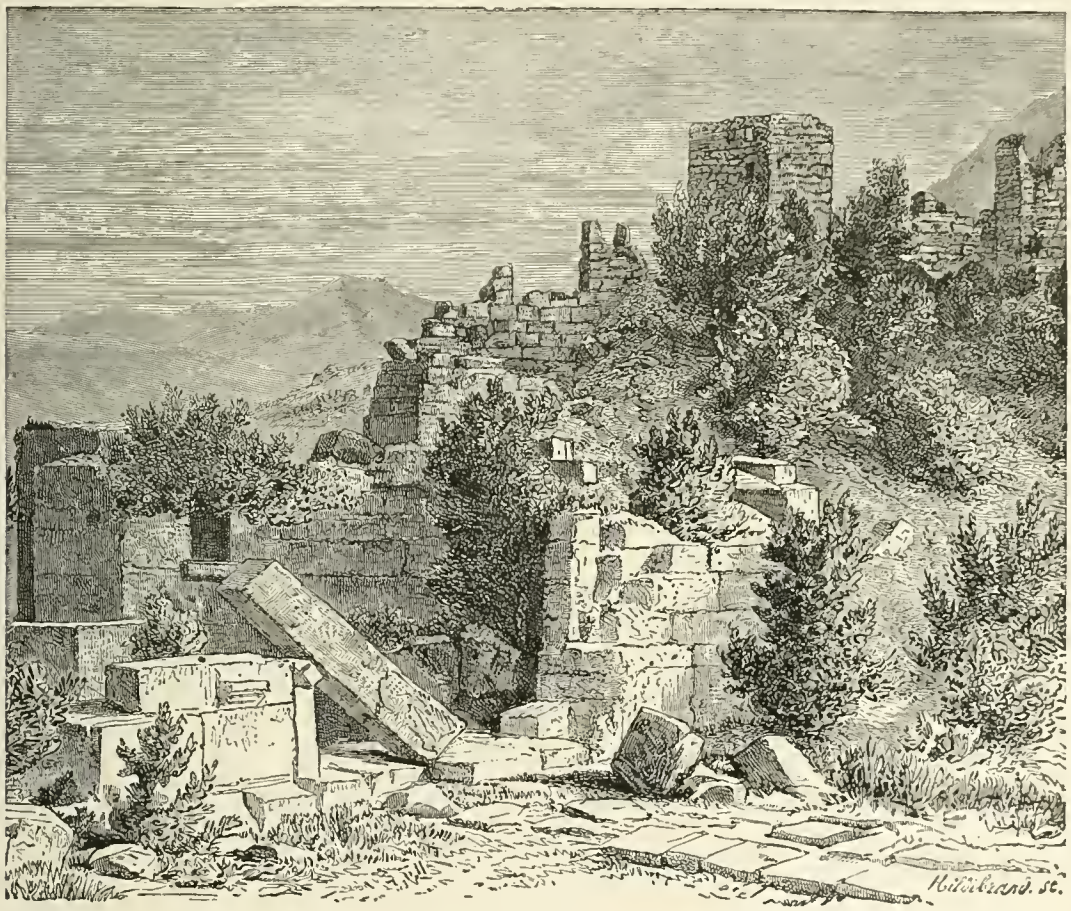
Character of the stone work and passages.

PELASGIAN MASONRY.—Wall of Tiryns.

It appears that the colonnade about the palace was of wood. The hall within had dimensions of forty by thirty feet, with a great circular hearthstone in the center. On one side of the hall were a number of chambers intended for the occupants of the palace or for

Particular features and style of the palace.

guests. One series of apartments were for women and another for men. There were staircases leading to the upper floors, and the usual details peculiar to royal abodes. On the top of the surrounding wall was a colonnade of wooden pillars, each resting on a circular block of stone. Upon these pillars was constructed a flat roof, which was open toward the inside of the city.



VIEW OF MYCENÆ.

Another peculiar feature of the Pelasgian building was the use of stucco and of sun-dried bricks in the less important parts of the walls. The columns and doorposts were of wood, and it is in evidence that many of the rooms were ceiled with the same material. The holes in the interior of the wall where the dowels were inserted for the support of the ceiling are still plainly seen. The doors were hung on hinges of bronze, and many of the cuplike sockets in the lintels are still in place. Specimens of the ornamentation are found, exhibiting excellent work as to pattern and execution. The designs include birds and animals and scroll work done in imitation of the semi-Oriental styles prevalent in Asia Minor. A part of a frieze executed in white alabaster has been recovered and preserved. It consists of rosettes in relief and various vinelike patterns, studded with pieces of blue glass and enamel.

It is evident from the whole ruin, from its massiveness, its strength, its

elegance of design within, and its elaboration of details that the Pelasgians as builders in stone and wood had reached a very high degree of excellence, worthy indeed to be compared with the greatest architects of ancient or modern times, and this at a date before the first impulses of Hellenic migration had been felt in the Ægean islands or on the mainland of Greece. The brief notice here given of the monumental remains at the old Pelasgic city of Tiryns covers nearly all that is known of the architecture and skill of the people.

Deductions from character of royal buildings and citadel.

PELASGIC ART—GOLD MASK FOUND BY SCHLIEMANN AT MYCENÆ.

The usual inferences may be drawn from the existence of such a city and citadel. It was evidently a stronghold of the race. The palace included within the walls was certainly royal in its design and use. About the fortified part of the city doubtless lay spread the less important dwellings and marts of the people. There has always been a correlation between the public and private edifices of a given age and people. The former are more majestic and permanent; the latter soon go down to the indiscriminate dust. The existence of such a capital as Tiryns implies opposing powers. It may be that the military significance of the place bears evidence only of the tribal struggles which were going on for the mastery of the peninsula, but the greater likelihood is that foreign states across the Ægean and even the Mediterranean were the powers contemplated when the Tirynthian walls were built.

Not only in Argos, but in Attica, even on the site of Athens herself, similar Cyclopean remains have been discovered. In Bœotia, and far north in Thessaly, the outlines of pre-Hellenic stonework may be found here and there, furnishing abundant evidence of the wide distribution of the Pelasgic race. Though these ruins give to modern times the most tangible and indisputable proofs of the existence and work of such a people as the Pelasgians in the Grecian peninsula, their real influence in subsequent times doubtless lay in the modification which they effected in the character of the Grecian race.

Cyclopean remains in other parts of Greece.

It is one of the most interesting inquiries with which the ethnologist has to deal to determine the influence of a subject people on their conquerors. Such influence varies very greatly with different races and in different epochs of history.

In general, the remnants of the Latin race widely distributed in Europe, exercised a strong reäction on the barbarians who overran the country between the fifth and the eighth century of our era. In some cases, however, as in the Saxon conquest of Britain, scarcely a vestige of the original people could be discovered in the subsequent race development of the island. In the case of the incoming of the Hellenes into Greece, and the formation therein of their petty democracies and aristocracies, and the consequent evolution of a peculiarly brilliant nationality, it is doubtless true that the original Pelasgic tribes contributed largely to the creation of the new Greek character. Certain it is that some parts of their religion entered into union with and became almost dominant over the imported mythology of the Greeks, and it is also certain that their skill as builders suggested the subsequent architecture of the Hellenes. The masonry of Mycenæ and of the other great towns of the Heroic Age was copied from the older work of the Pelasgians, and is indeed only a later and completer development of the original system of stone-cutting and structure. The Pelasgic masons were the fathers and school teachers of the great builders of the Doric era in Greece.

Possible influence of Pelasgians on the Hellenes.

CHAPTER XLVI.—HELLENIC TRIBES AND THE ENVIRONMENT.

IN entering upon the race history of Europe two methods present themselves to our choice. In the first place, we may take our stand in the currents of those migrations by which Europe was first peopled by the Aryan races, and may follow the various tribes and nations in the order of their evolution into the civilized condition. This involves the determination of the question of priority. Which was the oldest of the Aryan families on the European continent? Which was first to arrive and to plant itself in permanent form? Did the Celts precede the Græco-Italic race? Did the northern stream of migration discharge its volume into the West at an earlier epoch than did the southern? Were the Teutones the oldest or the youngest born of the great ethnic family? If this first method of inquiry be adopted, all of these questions must be settled in order that we may follow the streams of migration in their natural course to their natural destination.

Question of priority among the European Aryans.

In the second place, it is practicable to take up the various races of Europe in the order of their historical development; that is, we may consider first those nations which present the earliest complete activities within the historical era, and pass from these to those of a later date. That is we may begin with the Græco-Italic race in the southern peninsulas of the continent and notice, first of all, their successive expansions into national forms; and afterwards we may pass to the countries north of the Alps and take up the later evolution of the Teutonic, the Slavonic, and the Celtic families.

These races considered in order of historical development.

On the whole, the latter method is to be preferred. We have already arrived on our westward course at the Ægean islands. It is but a step to the mainland of Greece, another step to Italy, and still another to the North. Historically, this is the order in which the great races of Europe have presented themselves. It is not, therefore, so much a question of the relative priority of the original tribes which gave a primitive population to the continent as it is of priority and natural sequence among the civilized races. We shall therefore adopt the order of the historical progress among the European families rather than what may be supposed to have been the migratory procession by which the original tribes were distributed into the countries west of the Bosphorus.

We shall thus begin with the Hellenic tribes and nations. It is difficult to determine precisely how much the words *Greek* and *Hellen* should include in ethnography. It may be safely assumed that the oldest seat of the race was in the Ægean islands and along the western shore of Asia Minor. We speak here of the first period of conscious life among the Greeks, and not of the mere diffusion of barbarous tribes. All the Ægean archipelago was Greek. The eastern coast was essentially Greek as far north as the Hellespont. Hellas Proper was Greek, and the Peloponnesus. This is said of the country as far west as the northernmost limits of Epirus.

What the ethnic terms Greek and Hellen should include.

ISLE OF SCIO. A STEPPING-STONE OF THE GREEK MIGRATION.— Drawn by MacWhirter.

It is on the north that one of the boundaries of ancient Hellenism seems most uncertain. Were the Thracians Greek? and afterwards the Macedonians? If we follow the line of migra-

tion out of the Phrygian highlands and assume that the tribes would effect their passage at the Bosphorus, we come naturally into Thrace and afterwards into Macedonia. Of the aborigines of these northern regions history knows nothing. Respecting the peoples whom the Aryan tribes may have found in the region between the Hellespont and Thessaly, conjecture gropes blindly; and we have little evidence as to the extent to which the restless Hellenes took possession of the country on their way to the south.

Difficulty of knowing the race descent of the Thracians.

The question here before us suggests a notice of what were certainly two of the principal routes by which the Greek immigrants gained footing in their future home. There can be no doubt that a people essentially Hellenic were carried forward by the general movement of the races to the western shores of Asia Minor and into the adjacent islands. This movement continued across the archipelago into Greece. It was doubtless the first distribution of a truly Hellenic population from Phrygia and the East. The second migrations were later in date. These came by way of the Hellespont and Thrace into Greece from the north; and it is thought that the immigrants doubled back into the archipelago and distributed themselves along with older Hellenes already in partial possession of the Ægean islands. The Ionian Greeks did not cross into Europe, but extended themselves down the coast, and we may believe that the earliest conscious buddings forth of Greek civilization were out of Ionia. It is safe, on the whole, to include the peoples of primitive Thrace along with the Hellenes, and to regard them as a result of an ethnic distribution made by the Greeks in passing through the country to the south.

The two principal routes of the Greek incoming.

The Thracian language has wholly perished, and the monumental remains of the country have as yet thrown but little light upon the ethnic classification of the original inhabitants. They are known to have been Indo-Europeans, and to have had much in common with the Greeks of the south. As late as the middle of the period of Hellenic ascendency the Thracians were wont to be in alliance with the Athenians against the Macedonians, which proves conclusively the historical affinity of the two peoples. It is also known that the prevailing worship among the Thracians was that of Dionysus, which they had in common with the Phrygians and the Greeks.

Linguistic and monumental relics of the Thracians.

The existing monuments of the country are tumuli, of vast proportions, similar in character and purpose with the hill of Marathon. Of these tumuli, there are thousands within the limits of the Thracian territory, but as this region has corresponded for a century or more with the heart of European Turkey, science has made little progress in exploring the ancient mounds. In some of them relics have been found identical in design and workmanship with similar implements among the Romans. It has been thought by antiquaries that these remains were of the post-classical period, when the country was under Roman domination, and when later burials threw into the same mound the workmanship of a later age.

Historically, our earliest acquaintance with the Thracians shows them in the tribal condition. In the fifth century B. C. they had not yet become truly national in their development. There were lead-

Condition of the Thracians at the beginning of history.

ing tribes, and others of a subordinate character. The most powerful of these was the Odrysæ, whose king, Teres, was a conqueror in his day, extending his dominion over the larger part of Thrace. This may be referred to the middle of the fifth century B. C. It was Sitalces, son of Teres, who became an ally of the Athenians to help maintain their ascendency in the Chalcidian peninsula. The power of the Odrysæ was broken up during the reign of Seuthes, nephew of Sitalces, and the tribal condition remained with little disturbance until the rise of Macedonia.

ORPHEUS.
From the painting by Benjamin Constant; engraved by Jounard.

The five tribal names by which the Thracian peoples were distinguished were the Getæ, the Treres, the Triballi, the Daci, and the Mœsi. The student of history will readily recognize several of these ethnic names as the titles of races projecting themselves at a later period into the history of the West. Tribal names; belief in a Scythian race descent.

It was believed, as early as the times of Herodotus, that the Thracian nations were allied in race descent with the Scythians; but there was no better ground for such belief than was found in the well-known character of the Thracians, whose ferocity in battle and savagery in peace reminded the Father of History of the Scythic barbarians. The Thracians are represented as powerful warriors. They were disposed by both nature and habit to battle, and their cruelty against the enemy was as notorious as their courage was undoubted.

PRIESTESS OF BACCHUS.—From the painting by John Collier.

The Thracian gods, like themselves, were truculent, fierce, and passionate. Besides the worship of Dionysus, already mentioned, the Thracian Mars and Bacchus and Diana were adored with the usual rites peculiar to the Aryan nations. Bacchus had an oracle on the summit of Mount Rodophe, where drunken orgies were performed after the manner of barbarians. The only touches of light among the darkness of North Hellenic barbarism were certain myths and mythical characters, the possession of which the Thracians contested with the Greeks. It was claimed that Orpheus, Musæus, and Eumolpus were Thracian heroes; but it is more likely that the Thracians had merely preserved in these characters a recollection of their Phrygian origin.

Superstition and mythology of the Thracians.

SALONICA (MODERN THESSALONICA).

Between Thrace and Hellas lay the widely extended country of Macedonia. Here again we are in great doubt as to the character of the original inhabitants. There are evidences that the Thracians, though further separated from the Hellenes of the south, were more closely

Race relationships of the primitive Macedonians.

allied with them than were the Macedonians. It is also thought that the latter people were of Illyrian descent, and that their coming into the country was by a reflex movement from the southwest; but we may safely affirm that both the Illyrians and the Macedonians were descendants of the common stock which gave the Hellenes to Southeastern Europe. It is well enough, therefore, to classify them along with the Thracians, and to note their peculiarities in this connection.

Poetical tradition of Emathia and Macedo.

In the *Iliad* reference is made to a country called Emathia, and this has been identified with Macedonia. Somewhat later the Greek story-tellers invented a mythical founder of the race, called Macedo, from whom the principal tribe of Macedonia was said to have been descended. Macedo was the son of Zeus—another example of the cloud-born ethnology of the ancients. Still later, the country was named Macetia, from the tribe of the Macetæ, and the latter word has been associated by curious ethnographers with the Hebrew Chetæ, or Kittim; but the alleged etymology is unnatural, and therefore improbable.

MACEDONIAN SOLDIERS IN PHALANX.

Historical obscurity of the Macedonian race.

Of no other great people of the ancient world, whose activities were so largely displayed within the historical era, are we so ignorant as of the Macedonians. They emerged into view at a late period, being unknown to the Greek historians at any age earlier than the reign of Amyntas, about 500 B. C. It was in the time of his son Alexander that the Persian invasion of Greece occurred; but the Macedonians were little regarded in that world-famous event.

The name Macedonians was first applied to this people by Herodotus. We may gather from his narrative that the original home of the nation was near

Mount Pindus, whence they spread out to the northeast, intermingling with Thracian and Hellenic colonies already established in that part of the country. It is fairly to be inferred that the Macedonian race, such as it was in the times of the empire, was the result of a composition of original Illyrian tribes with Greeks and Thracians dwelling in the maritime region between Thessaly and the Chalcidian peninsula.

Story of Herodotus and inferences therefrom.

The character of the Macedonians is tolerably well displayed in the writings of the Greeks. We speak of that later character which they had after their rise to nationality and power. They differed not greatly from the Hellenes themselves in the earlier ages of their development, before the civilizing light had shined forth from Attica; but there was always a want of intellectual greatness in the Macedonian race. They rose to the level of warriors, but not to the rank of poets and sages. As compared with the Greeks, they were a stolid, heavy people, whose ideals were low as paralleled with the refined spirituality of the southern race. Even the efforts of the Macedonian emperors to import into the country the art and learning of Hellas and to make them flourish therein was a failure. The Macedonian race became known as a great political power, but not as a refining force. It was the vehicle by which the enlightenment of the Hellenes was carried into the larger part of Western Asia; but the vehicle itself did not flame with the Promethean fire.

Later character and genius of the Macedonians.

Even the language of the Macedonians has virtually perished. In the times of the empire Greek was spoken at the court; and it is likely that dialects of Greek, rude and uncultivated, were the prevailing tongues of the people; but the absence of Macedonian literature has left the matter in much doubt. There appears to have been no ethnic culture of the northern race by which it might be distinguished from the nations of Asia Minor and Hellas. On the whole, it is safe to define the Macedonians as a race of rude and half-developed northern Greeks, whose evolution into the refined activities of the artistic and literary life was stopped midway by the growth of a great political despotism, under which the energies of the people were diverted from the chisel to the sword.

Absence of literary and monumental remains.

Most of what has been said relative to the Thracians and Macedonians may be repeated of the Illyrians, the remaining race, lying north of the Hellenes. Illyria was the northwestern country of the Hellenic peninsula. Both the country and the people were in the same belt with the Macedonians; and we are obliged by all the evidences in our possession to classify the Illyrians with the Græco-Italic peoples rather than with the northern, that is, the Slavonic, branch of the Indo-Europeans. In fact, if we assume the Danube as the line of division between the northern and southern Aryans in Europe, remembering always that both nature and history abhor a line, we may assign a common ethnic origin to all the peoples on the south, and another common origin to those on the north. On the south, we have the Græco-Italic nations; on the north, the Slavo-Teutonic nations. In Hellas we must probably except the Pelasgians from the general scheme, assigning to them a different race descent; but as to the rest—Thracians, Macedonians, and Greeks—the fountain head was common.

Affinity of Illyrians with Macedonians and Thracians.

and the streams of ethnic outflow only slightly divergent in the different countries.

The Greek writers preserved the myth of the origin of the Illyrians, whom they recognized as their kinsmen. They assigned to them an illustrious beginning. Cadmus, after having given letters to the Greeks, removed with his wife, Harmonia, into the northwest of Hellas, and settled there. To him was born a son, Illyrius, ancestor of the race that bore his name. By war, the Enchelians, whom we may regard as the aborigines of Illyricum, were subdued; and then Cadmus and Harmonia were removed by the gods to Elysium. It will be remembered that Cadmus had first come, according to the legend, from the Phœnician coast in search of his sister Europa, who was lost, and that Harmonia was the daughter of Mars and Venus. This is to say that Harmony is born of War and Love, and that Cadmus found Europe when he had Harmony in the search.

Greek myth and tradition of the race.

On the north, then, we may say that there was a clear demarkation between the Illyrians and the Slavo-Teutonic races; but southward they were graded off imperceptibly into the more active and civilized Hellenic tribes. The same want of definite division existed on the east, where they were mingled with the Macedonians. It is believed that foreign intercourse carried into Illyria many alien races, some of whom were much more enlightened than the people among whom they settled. Phœnicians, Ionians, and Dorians are said to have

Ethnic boundaries of the Illyrians; foreign admixture.

OFF THE ILLYRIAN COAST.—Sulimore Spixa.—Drawn by Charles W. Wyllie.

planted, or attempted to plant, colonies in the northwest; but, with the single exception of the Greek town Epidamnus on the coast, none of the colonies seem to have survived. Doubtless the greater attractiveness of life in Hellas Proper was the motive for withdrawing from

MODERN ILLYRIAN TYPE—PEASANT OF SPALATO.
Drawn by Theodore Valerio.

the remote and barbarous regions of Illyria, the outposts of civilization.

Through their whole career the Illyrians remained in their primitive condition. They shared but little in the intellectual and commercial activity of the Greeks. Though their country was fertile, though their coasts were indented with admirable harbors, the people continued to choose the pursuits of war and barbarism. In these respects the Illyrians were closely allied with their Macedonian neighbors on the east. There was really no ethnic difference in that part of the country where the two peoples were mixed and interfused. Both races were in like manner assimilated with the Thracians, though the latter made much greater progress toward the civilized condition.

The race does not emerge; continuance of barbarism.

As a consequence, a line of separation was drawn between the barbarism of Illyria and the refinement and progress of Hellas. North of this line the old habits continued to prevail. According to the Greek historians, tattooing of the body was practiced by the Illyrian tribes as well as by the Macedonians and ruder Thracians. Their religious rites also were exceedingly barbarous, and if the testimony of the Greeks may be accepted as true, human sacrifices were offered to the gods of Illyria.

We may for these reasons be the more surprised to note the importance of women in this half-savage country. The life of woman was free and honorable. The daughters and wives of the Illyrian chieftains frequently led in war, and in peace were regarded as the equals of their brothers and husbands. The manner of life seems to have been analogous to that of the German tribes as they are described by Tacitus. According to the testimony of Greek authors, however, the Illyrian women were reckless and unchaste, differing in this regard from the women of the Teutones.

Important place of woman among the Illyrians.

The dominant characteristic of the Illyrian tribes was their passion for war. They beat for generations against the

borders of Macedonia. It was like the warfare of the Saxons with the Picts in the border region of England and Scotland. The power of Macedonia could not for a long time prevail over their barbarous enemy. Not indeed until the time of Philip was a successful conquest made of the Illyrian tribes.

Passion of the Illyrians for war.

Of art, of literature, of refinement, of that ideal progress and intellectual expansion which made the Hellenic race illustrious, the Illyrians knew nothing. The country is as poor in monumental remains as it was unimportant in history. The few relics of the civilization which Illyria affords to the antiquary belong to the period of Roman ascendency and are common with those of Italy. The causes of the continued barbarism of the Illyrians long after the Hellenes had risen to the pinnacle of civilization might be hard to discover. Doubtless they were the same as were the forces which held back the Thracians and the Macedonians from a high development. The more rigorous climate of the north and other discouraging features of the environment may have somewhat chilled the buddings of enlightenment and progress; but it is probable that the northern stock was in its instincts and dispositions averse to those high and rational activities of which the Greeks became the prime examples in all the ancient world.

Barbaric career of the race; reasons therefor.

At times the Illyrians broke out of their fastnesses and displayed their warlike passions in the south. Herodotus tells of an attempt made by them to sack the temple of Delphi. In 424 B. C., Brasidas, marching with a Spartan army across Thessaly and Macedonia, was furiously assailed by the Illyrians. Not that the latter were in sympathy with the Athenian cause, but were merely impelled by love of slaughter and spoil. A little later, however, they found their match in the Gallic tribes, who forced their way into Illyria on their way to the south. The impact was more than the barbarian warriors could stand, and they gave way to the settlement of the Gauls among them. The event here referred to is a part of that general movement of the Celts to the east and south, by which they were ultimately carried into Asia Minor and established, as already related, in the province of Galatia.

Hostile contact of the Illyrians with the Greeks.

In entering upon the ethnic history of the Greeks, we come to what may be fairly regarded the most astonishing example of human development which the history of the race has thus far afforded. Before attempting to offer any suggestion relative to the causes and circumstances of this tremendous evolution, it will be proper to note the local distribution of the people called Hellenes. In a former book we have already stated in general terms the traditional tribal divisions of the Greeks. In so far as these divisions were based upon the Hellenic tradition of their old ancestors—Helen, Æolus, Dorus, Xuthus, Ion, Achæus—the whole may be neglected as of slight value in scientific ethnography; but the great fact of the race divisions among the Greeks exists. A large part of the civil and political annals of the Greek race grew out of its separation into several groups of states based upon community or diversity of ethnic origin. We may, therefore, in the present connection look at the several groups of Hellenes as they existed in the earliest dawn of authentic history.

Importance of tribal separations among the Greeks.

There were two general divisions of

the race, the Dorians and the Ionians. These represent distinct aspects of ethnic evolution. Indeed, it might be said that they had one thing in common: they were both Hellenes. But they were Hellenes of different dates, different circumstances, different instincts. The Dorians were the oldest of the Hellenic peoples, so called. They best expressed the physical force and adventure of the

Division of the Hellenic race into Dorians and Ionians.

The Dorians were manifestly of a Phrygian origin. They came into Europe by way of the Bosphorus, or Hellespont, through Thrace, and thence to the south. They are considered the third wave which had spread westward in the same manner. The first was undoubtedly the movement which carried the Latins through Thrace and Illyria into the western peninsula. The second

Origin of the Dorian tribes; myth of Dorus.

GREEK TYPES.—Drawn by C. Colb.

Greek. If the historian were called upon to point out among all the early races of men a parallel to the restlessness and physical antagonisms of the Dorian Hellenes, he would be embarrassed with the requirement. They spread from place to place. They were still in effervescence at the beginning of the historical era. Many of their movements can be delineated from historical data, and others may be inferred by reasonable deduction and conjecture.

migration was that which sent the Thraco-Illyrian tribes to their destination in the countries north of Hellas. The third brought the Dorians. Their eastern origin is well preserved in the myth of Dorus, the eponymous ancestor of the race. He had for his sister, Protogeneia, meaning The Early Dawn. She was wedded to Zeus, the Gleaming Heaven. There was born a daughter, who became the mother of Aethlios. He was the Toiling Sun, and

was the father of Endymion, the Setting Sun. The genesis is clearly Oriental, and the exodus is into the West.

Historically, we find the Dorians first of all in Northern Greece. The particular portion of the country which they are said to have occupied is the southwest of the great Thessalian plain. Afterwards they are found in the country below Ossa and Olympus. Again their presence is discovered among the highlands of Pindus. It is in this region that the Father of History took note of them and recorded them under the name of Macedonians. Still, again, they removed into Dryopis, and from this point made their way into the Peloponnesus.

Apparition of the race in various parts of Greece.

It would seem that at a very early age the Dorians were well distributed in Northern Greece. Tradition has called up the sons of Hercules as the origin of the Dorian movement into the south. The Peloponnesus was claimed after the Trojan War by the Heraclidæ as their inheritance. They accordingly gathered the Dorians out of the countries north of the isthmus and bore down upon the south. There ensued a desperate struggle between the invaders and the primitive inhabitants of the country, whom we may reckon in part at least as Pelasgians. Those ethnographers who classify the latter peoples as Indo-Europeans maintain that they had settled into Peloponnesus from the north, being an offshoot from the second, or Thraco-Illyrian, migration out of Asia. After strenuous warfare the Dorians succeeded in establishing themselves firmly in three principal states of Southern Greece: Argolis, Messenia, and Laconia. Hence the development of the three Peloponnesian branches of the Dorian family: Argives, Spartans, and Messenians.

The Heraclidæ become the leaders of Dorian conquest.

It may be accepted as correct to regard Peloponnesus as the true seat of the established Dorian race. North of the peninsula, however, the Dorians continued to hold the little inland state of Doris, with its three townships,

Peloponnesus the seat of the Dorian evolution.

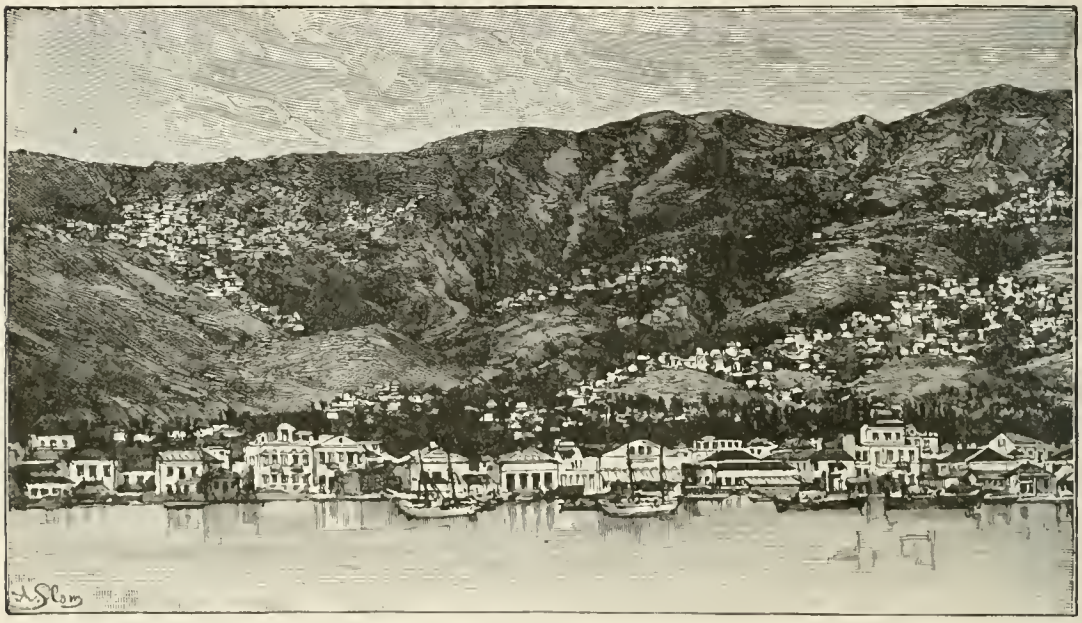
DORIAN GIRL, VICTOR IN THE FOOT RACE—TYPE.
Drawn by C. Colb, from an antique.

where they maintained themselves in that dogged isolation for which the race has ever been proverbial. It is remarkable that the only two inland states of all Hellas, Doris and Laconia, were both possessed and developed by Dorians; but this circumstance is hardly worthy to be reckoned among the causes of the seclusiveness and nonintercourse by which they were ever characterized.

Thus at the very beginning the Dorian race presents a contradiction. We should expect, *à priori*, a total absence of the colonizing spirit among such a people; but, on the contrary, the disposition to send out colonies was one of the strongest features of Dorian history. It was from the homesteads of these peoples that Greek colonies were in process of time sent out into different and distant quarters of the world. Corinth within the historical era planted Coreyra and Syracuse, and from these sprang in turn the colonies of Epidamnus, Ambracia, and Potidæa. The Dorians in Crete and Rhodes established Gela in Sicily; and from Gela was sent out a company who founded Agrigentum in the same island. From Megara was dispatched a colony to the Bosphorus, and there they planted Byzantium, which was destined in the course of ages to become the capital of the Eastern Cæsars and the final abode of whatever remained of the intellectual and social activity of the Græco-Italic race. So into other parts of the world the Dorians sent their colonies; and the instinct of colonization was perpetuated to the third and fourth generation of cities.

Spread and permanency of the Dorian colonies.

This, however, is to anticipate. From Peloponnesus the Dorians spread into the archipelago. It was they who contributed the Hellenic population of Crete. More than all the other Hellenes combined they spread themselves through the Ægean islands, and finally to the coast of Asia Minor. Upon this they planted themselves to the south of Ionia and set six cities along these ancient shores. These were combined—as far as anything Dorian could be combined with another—in a loose confederation, known as the Doric Hexapolis.



VIEW OF THESSALIAN COAST, FROM GULF OF VOLO.—Drawn by A. Slom, from a photograph.

Another strange aspect of the race work of these people was the persistency with which their colonies held their own when once planted afar. Rarely did one of their outposts recede from a position once taken. At the same time the

The foreign settlements preserve the Doric character.

colonial establishments of the Dorians maintained a strong likeness to the parent state. The same manners and customs, the same laws, the same policy, were upheld, the same traditions accepted, the same striking municipal individuality created in distant Asiatic and European settlements as in the Hellenic homestead. Perhaps the only considerable variation from the common type was in the case of the Spartans, whose great preponderance in Peloponnesus has led many authors to regard them as the typical people of the whole Dorian race. This view, however, has been successfully controverted; and the peculiar Spartan character, though certainly Dorian of the Dorians in its origin, has been set apart, and is to be considered as anomalous not only among their own kindred of Doric extraction, but among all the Hellenes.

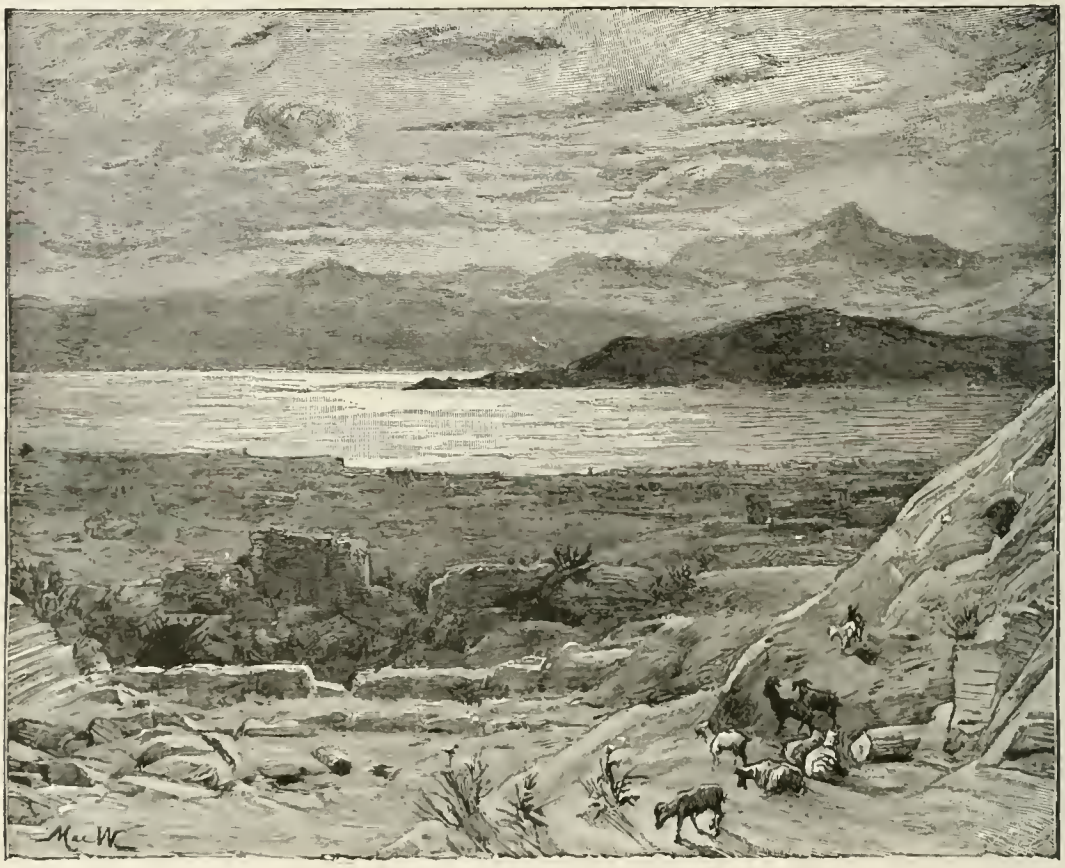
RUINS OF DORIAN HALL OF COUNSEL AT RHODES.
Drawn by E. Flandin.

The migrations and conquests by which the Dorian race was thus distributed in Hellas Proper, the Peloponnesus, the Ægean islands, on the southwest coast of Asia Minor, and in foreign colonial establishments were of such character as to disturb and unsettle all previous populations with which they came into contact. The result was that those

populations were thrown the one upon the other in successive waves and were nearly all displaced from their original seats. The tribes, half-formed into states, were jostled from their position, and immediately avenged their wrongs by falling upon their neighbors. All the peoples of Greece were in a measure mained in their seats had they not been urged therefrom by invasion.

Disturbance and displacement of the preceding Greek races.

The old Pelasgian peoples, driven out of Argolis and their other countries in the Peloponnesus, threw themselves upon the Achæans and forced them from their homes. They in turn fell upon the Ionians, who had their native seats on the Corinthian gulf. This is perhaps our



RUINS OF THE DORIC SICYON.

redistributed by the Dorian movements, and it required the lapse of several generations to bring about a settled state. Greece was full of militant tribes and of fugitives. The towns became for the time a refuge for Greek wanderers who had no other home. It was this condition of affairs that led to certain removals and colonizations by the non-Dorian Greeks, who would doubtless have re-

first historical contact with the Ionian race. They, like the Dorians, were out of Asia Minor. It is not known certainly by what course they came into Europe. The manner of their migration has been referred to in the preceding book. It is not unlikely that the Ægean islands were the stepping-places by which the Ionians made their way to

The Ionian race revealed by Dorian aggressions.

Hellas. The center of their power at the time of the great Dorian disturbances was, as we have said, on the gulf of Corinth. Here they had attained a settled condition, and were under the dominion of the civilizing forces when the fugitive Achæans struck them from the west.

The movements of the Dorians in the larger part of Greece had already disturbed the Ionian tribes, and many of them had flocked into Attica. It was the compression of population thus occasioned by the concentration of the race in the Attic peninsula and the outside impact of the Achæans that led to the organization and dispatch of colonies into distant parts. Legend has been busy with the event. We have here the story of Codrus, last king of mythical Athens. By his self-sacrifice the city was saved and monarchy forever renounced by the Ionian race. But the death of the king could not relieve the plethora of inhabitants. Colonies must carry off the surplus. So Nelus and Androclus, the two sons of Codrus, were placed at the head of emigrant bands, who now gathered the overplus from all Attica and set out across the Ægean to the east.

Concentration of Ionians in Attica; tradition of Codrus.

Thus was founded the Greek state called Ionia, situated on the west coast of Asia Minor between the Hermus and the Mæander, bounded by Lydia on the east and by the Ægean on the west. It was a small strip of seashore not more than ninety geographical miles in length, and having in no part a breadth of more than thirty miles. But such were the remarkable indentations of the coast that the sea line from the Hermus to the Mæander measured no less than three hundred and forty miles.

Founding of Asiatic Ionia; the Dodecapolis.

NORTH SHORE OF THE GULF OF CORINTH.—After a sketch of F. E. Blackstone.

Ionia lay between Æolis on the north and Doris on the south. The situation was especially favorable. It was the Phœnicia of Asia Minor. No position in Western Asia could surpass Ionia in commercial advantages. Here the colonists from the mother country planted themselves. Here were founded at dif-

ferent times twelve or thirteen cities,[1] which were bound together, after the Attic plan, into what became famous under the name of the Ionian Confederation. Besides the coast region, which was properly Ionia, two islands of importance were included in the Greek league. These were Chios and Samos, and with them were associated some smaller isles of less note.

Thus was planted Asiatic Greece. It is not impossible that old Greeks—Hellenes—had previously inhabited this coast, and that their descendants were resident there when Ionia began. But not all of the Ionian race departed from the mother country. In Attica and in other districts the old stock maintained itself, and through generations and ages fought out the race-battle with the Dorians. That struggle constitutes the essence of the civil history of Greece. It was Dorian against Ionian. The two races were of different instincts. Like brothers alienated, the contest was more determined and persistent than the battle of strangers. The general aspect in Hellas during the historical era is that of the Dorian power, with its center in the Peloponnesus, in conflict with the Ionian power, having its head in Attica and its body in Northern Hellas. Southern Greece was *Dorized*, and Hellas Proper was *Ionized*, and the battle for ascendency—a battle of physical force and persistency on the one side and of intellectual force and passion on the other—continued until both powers were prostrated by the sword of Rome.

Race battle of the Ionians and the Dorians in Greece.

The Dorians and Ionians were the two great divisions of the Greeks; but a third branch of the race must not be neglected. This was the Æolian family. According to tradition Æolus was the eldest son of Helen; that is, the Æolic was the oldest division of the Greek race. To Dorus was assigned the second place, while Ion was the youngest of the three. But the relative importance of the three branches of the Hellenic family was not determined by priority—this on the assumption that the Æolians were really the eldest.

Tradition of the descent of the Æolians.

At what time or by what route the Æolians came into European Greece we have no means of knowing; but their locus on the mainland has been tolerably well determined by their language and by a few historical evidences. It is highly probable that the Æolic migration was by way of the island of Lesbos from Asia Minor. Lesbian is regarded as the oldest dialect of Æolic. The race spread into Thessaly and Bœotia. It has been thought that the Eastern Macedonians were of Æolic origin, and in so far as they were true Hellenes this opinion may be accepted. The inhabitants of Elis and Arcadia, that is, the original Greeks of those two states, are thought to have belonged to the same stock, though the ethnologists have been divided on this point. It is safe to say that the Æolians were the northernmost of the three major families of Greeks, the Ionians occupying Central Greece and the Dorians the south.

Conjectural routes of immigration.

Here again the reader must be on his guard against accepting the artificial

[1] The ten cities of Ionia Proper, beginning on the south, were Myus, Priene, Ephesus, Colophon, Lebedus, Teos, Erythræ, Clazomenæ, and Phocæa. To these were added the two capital towns of Chios and Samos, thus composing the Ionian Dodecapolis. About the year 700 B. C., Smyrna, which had been an Æolian city, committed treason against the parent country and was taken into the Ionian confederation, thus making in the historical era thirteen municipalities bound together in the Asiatic Greek league.

lines of division which convenience has suggested in discriminating these peoples the one from the other. It is in evidence that the Greeks of different stocks commingled along their selvages of contact, and were shaded off imperceptibly into a common character. Thus the Æolians of Thessaly and Bœotia were merged with the Ionian Greeks on the south until it was impossible to discriminate the one from the other. In Elis and Arcadia the commingling was between the Æolians and the Dorians. The language spoken in these states was neither the one nor the other, but both —a composite dialect.

Overlap and intermingling of the Greek races.

The old Dorian wars were at the bottom not only of the colonization of the Dorians themselves in foreign parts, but also of the colonial movements of the Ionians and the Æolians. It was a peculiarity of the Dorian movement through Greece that it held what it gained. That is to say, when the invasion under the lead of the Heraclidæ set out from Doris, to which, as a center, all the Dorian influences had gathered, the state was not abandoned, but was held and developed as such within the historical era. The invasion was carried across the gulf, and the Argives, Laconians, and Messenians were obliged in turn to leave their native seats and make what disposition they could for their future. So the wave of conquest and colonization was started. As to the real invasion of the Dorians, it was stopped, according to the legend, with the death of Codrus under the walls of Athens. Into Attica had been gathered

Antecedents of Æolic colonization abroad.

SHEPHERDS OF ARCADIA—TYPES.—From a painting by Nicholas Poussin.

not only the fugitive Ionians from different parts of Greece, including many of the most distinguished families, such as the descendants of Nestor, from Pylos, but the Æolic populations also had flown thither, partly by actual displacement before the Dorians, and partly as refugees from other quarters.

These materials furnished the source of Æolic colonization. Bands of this race set out, islandwise, across the Ægean, and planted themselves finally on the upper coast of Asia Minor. The shores selected extended from the Hermus northward indefinitely to the Dardanelles and the Propontis, thus including the Troad. Here was founded that Asiatic Æolia which became a league of cities like the Ionian Dodecapolis on the south. At the first the northern limit of this territory was Lectum and the gulf of Adramyttium, but afterwards the boundary was extended to the Propontis.

Establishment of the Æolic confederation.

On this coast were already established the ancient Dardanians, builders of Troy. We are thus brought to the verge of the great question whether or not this successful attempt of the Æolians to plant a dominion, including the Troad, was not the historical cause of the Trojan War rather than the Homeric fiction of the rape of Helen. Of course there is a confusion of dates. The return of the Heraclidæ was, according to the Greek legend, sixty years after the sack of Ilium, and it was under the lead of the descendants of Hercules and his son Hyllus that the Dorians were said to have made their conquests. From these invasions the Æolian colonization of Asia Minor resulted. But was not the Æolian colonization of Asia Minor, with its consequent impact on the Dardanians, the *cause* rather than the consequence of the Trojan War?

The Æolians contest the Troad with the Dardanians.

THE DARDANELLES, LOOKING TOWARD CONSTANTINOPLE.—Drawn by William Simpson.

Thus much is certain: That there was

war with conquest in the establishment of the Æolian Confederation. It was only in the southern part of the coast, next to the Hermus, that the immigrants succeeded in establishing themselves by peaceable measures. Further north they came into contact with the Dardanians. They made war on the cities of the Troad, captured them, destroyed them. It is possible, even probable, that Troy herself was among the number besieged and taken by the European Greeks. The question is whether the sons of Atreus, Agamemnon, and Menelaüs, with their fellow-chieftains of Hellas, were among the Æolians who made war upon their old kinsmen on the ancient coast. If this question should be answered in the affirmative, the minor circumstances of the *Iliad* might well be supplied; and fiction and history, epic song and prose story, would be at one. If decided in the negative, we are left to the bald assertion that the Æolians, after subduing the Dardanians and taking their cities by siege and sack, established the seats of their own power amid the ruins of the older nationality, building up new Hellenic towns on the ruins of those which they had destroyed. It is, however, in perfect accord with the affirmative view that the explorations of Schliemann on the plain of Hissarlik have shown unquestionably the destruction of ancient Ilium in the manner described by Homer, while the relics which he has exhumed from the cinders must have belonged to a people such as the Trojans.

Place of Æolia; historical basis of the "Iliad."

We are thus able to view geographically the situation of the three principal races of the Greeks. Besides the Dorians, the Ionians, and the Æolians, there were several minor divisions of the Hellenic stock which may receive a passing notice at this place. In the northwestern part of Hellas, bounded on the north by Illyria, lay the ancient land of Epirus. If we may accept the testimony of Aristotle, this was the primitive seat of the whole Hellenic race, but the Father of Philosophy is not verified, even by the story-tellers of his own country.

Minor divisions of the Greeks; the Epirotes.

Greek tradition makes the primitive settlement of Epirus to have been effected by a tribe called the Molossians. They, under the leadership of Pyrrhus, son of no less a personage than the crested Achilles, hero of the Trojan War, took possession of the old Dodonian district of the northwest, and there planted the tribal beginnings of Epirote nationality. Achilles himself, however, must have been from this region aforetime, for he was wont in the intervals of his wrath to offer prayer to the Dodonian Zeus. It is said again that the Molossians took their name from an ancient chief, Molossus, who was the son of Andromache; but this requires still greater stretch of imagination. The Epirotes were divided into fourteen independent tribes, the Chaones and the Thesproti being the principal after the Moossians.

The offspring of Achilles founds a state.

The situation was barbarous, and likewise the people. It is likely that the primitive inhabitants of Epirus were an offshoot from the Thraco-Illyrian branch of the Hellenic race. It is also likely that the religious cult, having its center at Dodona, was of a Pelasgic origin, and thereby associated with the old populations of Peloponnesus. It is also likely that, in the time of the Dorian invasions, branches of that family ran into Epirus and contributed to form the miscellany by which it was peopled. The culture

Several race influences felt in Epirus; Zeus of Dodona.

and activity of the Greeks appear never to have penetrated the region; but the awe with which superstition had endued the Dodonian oaks, wherein the solemn voice of Jove Almighty was heard by the primitive sons of men, was perpetuated into the classical ages of Hellen-

ZEUS—AFTER THE VATICAN STATUE.

ism, and only ceased to have an influence over the Greek mind with the extinction of the ancient race.

Place and character of Achæans; Achilles a type.

Of the Achæans, fabulously descended from Achæus, brother of Dorus, something has been said in the former book. Their original seat is thought to have been a small district in Southern Thessaly. It is not impossible that a tribe of men having the tradition of a single ancestor held here a portion of the country, and that they extended their sway, according to the legend, until they reached the Corinthian gulf. Warrior Achilles himself was of this race, and may be said to have typified their passions and barbarism. Achilles was little noted for those amenities which are supposed to humanize mankind, and the race to which he belonged was like unto himself.

The race fixes itself in Achaia; lack of culture.

In the general agitation of Greece, the Achæans made their way across to the northern shores of Peloponnesus and there established themselves in the little country having a coast line about thirty-five miles in extent. This became the classical province of Achaia. Herein the Achæans were manifest in the ages of recorded history; but, like the Epirotes, they were always an uncultured folk, leaving at the last but little trace in the literature, the art, the memorials of the Hellenic race. They were more like Dorians than Ionians, rough warriors and valiant, but of uncouth manners and unfired with the Promethean light. They transmitted no historical or artistic memorials of themselves, though their fame as warriors fixed itself first in the epic and dramatic poetry of the Ionians, and was thus transmitted to mankind.

Dorians join the immortals in colonizing Crete.

At the conclusion of the Dorian wars in Peloponnesus the restless tribes who had come in with the Heraclidæ were not appeased by conquest. We have already remarked upon the spirit of colonization into which the restless activities of the Dorians were now turned. One of the most remarkable outputtings of this early age—a movement dimly outlined in the shadows of tradition—

was that adventure which carried the Dorians by migration into Crete. In that island hitherto had been many wonderful works of gods and men. It was here that Minos had planted his institutions at a time to which the epoch of Lycurgus was modern. Zeus had loved Europa. That is, the Shining Heaven overcame Europe, and Minos was born, even before the flood of Deucalion. Minos was the father of the Greek Noah. He wished to be king of Crete, and prayed that a bull might come up from the sea fit to be sacrificed to Neptune. Accordingly, an animal was so sent, beautiful and strong. Minos would fain save so splendid a creature, and sacrificed another in his stead. So was Neptune offended, and the wife of Minos was smitten with folly as a punishment. For she conceived an insane passion for the bull, and so was born the Minotaur. But Minos became king and lawgiver of the Cretes. Not only so, but the Dorian Lycurgus of the Peloponnesus went thither to learn his first lessons in the law. All of this is to say that a primitive offshoot of the Dorian stock made its way into Crete, and there by conquest and development antedated somewhat the rise of civilization in Southern Hellas.

THE BIRTH OF EUROPA.
Drawn by J. E. Hodgson, from the vision of Titian.

Besides the major nations which we have thus traced to their stations in the Hellenic world, many small divisions were manifest in the general diffusion. In fact, no other people were ever ramified and differentiated to a like extent with the Greeks. This was the bottom fact in the constitution of the Greek populations. The utter diffusion of the race throughout Hellas and the Ægean islands was not only illustrated but proved by the multifarious dialects which sprang from the common ancestral language. Every neighborhood of the Greeks spoke its own tongue. Not only was the vocalic utterance of the language different in one district from that of any other, but even the consonantal structure of the words was inflected into

Absolute diffusion of Greeks indicated by their languages.

new forms, until in many instances the people on the two sides of a range of hills could not hold discourse with each other.

Innumerable dialects show the spirit of individuality.

It seemed that the ethnic forces which underlay this complete differentiation of tribe from tribe would be satisfied with nothing short of absolute individualism. The languages or dialects which might be correctly defined by the general term Greek were actually innumerable, and this, too, within a region of country having an estimated area of only thirty-four thousand square miles. Already in this fundamental feature of the Hellenic dispersion we discover the tremendous and radical impulses by which the Greek peoples were borne on, first in their dissemination, afterwards in their development, and finally to the acme of their fame.

CHAPTER XLVII.—THE FIELD AND THE MARKET.

E have thus drawn in tolerable breadth the geographical basis of the Hellenic race, with its several divisions. We do not, for the present, consider that race in its widest dispersion, when borne abroad in the Macedonian chariot it deposited its germs of culture on almost every coast of the civilized world. There was a time when from Massilia in Gaul to the valley of the Indus, and from the hyperborean regions of Europe to the cataract of the Nile, the Greek tongue was heard and understood; but we here view only the primitive distribution of the race, under its own ancient movements, apart from the artificial processes of history. It is upon this primitive geographical basis of Hellenism that we wish now to offer a somewhat extended commentary on the ethnic character of the race.

Geographical boundaries of the Greek dispersion.

Human life in the East began with thought and has ended in materialism. In the West it began with materialism and has ended in thought. Even the Eastern Aryans, as they drifted further and further from the original nidus, partook in large degree of the disposition of the Semitic races. They became dreamers, busying themselves with the construction of a System of Things, especially as it relates to the cause or causes of nature. But in Hellas we find for the first time the phenomenon of life on a strictly natural basis. The Greek career began with the adjustment of the race to physical conditions, and the reflex action of the outer world upon the Hellenic mind was the first element of its progress. Life in the East started with religion, and in Greece with something to eat. Not that material phenomena were wholly neglected by the Eastern races; not that the Iranic and Indic-Aryans failed to note the aspects of the material world; but their peculiarity was the attempt to construct at once from visible conditions an Invisible System of power over nature and man. The Western Aryans completely reversed this process. Not that they failed to idealize. Indeed, their whole life grew in the direction of thought and ideality; but they started from the physical basis and led a natural life.

Striking departures between the East and West Aryans.

The country in which the Hellenes found themselves was specially favorable for the encouragement of their instinctive dispositions. Greece is anomalous among all the inhabitable parts of the earth. No other region is in its similitude. It is a vortex of all the forces of the natural world. First of all, it may be said that the region is expressive of the greatest number and variety of natural activities anywhere discoverable in the world. It was volcanic in its origin. It is and has ever been subject to the vicissitudes of earthquake and tempest. It is a perpetual expression of the strife between earth and ocean, between Zeus and Poseidon. Less than one half the area of Portugal, it has a sea line greater than all Spain and Portugal together! No part of Greece is forty miles from the sea or ten miles from the hills. It has within a territory of little more than twenty thousand square miles almost every variety of climate known in Continental Europe, just as Europe has every variety known in the world. Historians and ethnographers have been given to drawing this analogy, namely: Europe is a climatic epitome of the whole earth, and Greece is the epitome of Europe. Nor is the likeness strained which thus assigns to Hellas the place of brief abstract and chronicle of all the physical conditions existing in the habitable parts of the globe.

Greek instincts favored by nature; Greece a vortex.

DISTANT VIEW OF CORINTH.—Drawn by MacWhirter.

Down from the frozen summits of Pindus and the Cambunian mountains falls the blast of unending winter, while across the Mediterranean comes the hot breath of Africa. In a journey of a few

miles the traveler not only sees with his eye a natural panorama which may be regarded as a summary of all the known landscapes of the earth, but he feels against his person the breath of every climate. At only a short distance from the coast he finds himself perhaps at a level of more than five thousand feet above the sea. Below him, here and there, is a plateau. Beyond are peaks and ranges of hills. Between are narrow and sequestered valleys. Here is a small and fertile plain, and there a ravine, traversed by a short and insignificant river, which plunges down wildly to the sea. There is an abundance of running streams, but not a single navigable body of live water in the whole country. In summer time the beds of brooks are dry and gleaming white in the sunshine. On the hillslopes are forests. It is reckoned that to the present day fifteen per cent of the original woods remains, with little change except the slow transformation which all vegetation on the earth is undergoing under the dominion of cosmic forces.

Extraordinary range of climatic phenomena.

VALE OF THE NEDA.—Drawn by G. Vuilher, after a sketch of H. Belle.

There are in Greece at least four distinct zones of vegetation. From the seacoast to the height of about five hundred feet lies the land of corn and wine, of olives, oranges, melons, pomegranates, and all manner of fruits. Between five hundred and fifteen hundred feet

Zones of vegetation and products of each.

of elevation we have the first level of hills where the semitropical products give place to hardier forms of vegetation. This is the region where earth products are supplanted by animal life, where flocks and herds abound rather than gardens and growing fields. From fifteen hundred to three thousand five hundred feet is the forest region of Greece, where the old oaks still spread in their primitive grandeur. This is the second real belt of vegetable life. From three thousand five hundred to five thousand feet rises the land of the beech and the pine, interspersed, however, with occasional districts where cornfields and gardens of hardier vegetables and fruits are found. Beyond five thousand feet rise the mountain heights of a subalpine character, where only a few wild plants are able to maintain a precarious existence.

We thus see a country steep-up, broken, infinitely diversified. If the land level had been a little lower, only the heights would have appeared above the water. The Adriatic and the Ægean would have flowed together, and the archipelago would have been continuous from Asia Minor to Italy. Greece is a land archipelago, the bottoms between the islands being covered with fruits and flowers and inhabited by all manner of living forms.

Cosmographical possibilities of Hellas and her islands.

It was into this region that the primitive Hellenes wandered and dispersed. At the first, as we have said, it was a quest for food, a quest most successful and encouraging. The Greek tribes found much to eat. In no part of the earth was the struggle for a food-supply among a primitive people rewarded with so immediate and varied results. The fact is here cited because of its reäctionary effect upon the development of the race. In the whole Greek career we shall find the idea of food, the physical sustenance of life, and the methods by which it should be accomplished to have been among the most important considerations to which the energies of the Greeks were devoted. It may, therefore, profit that we look for a moment at some of the natural means by which the original plant of Hellenism was nourished as it spread wild over the valleys and hill-slopes of the ancient land.

The Greek satisfies himself with natural abundance.

Here grew the grape. The wines of modern Greece are not reckoned among the best, but are extremely abundant and varied in kind. Perhaps they have lost their flavor. At all events, the early products of the Greek vineyards were among the richest of the world. At the present time there are fully seven hundred thousand *stremmas* of land[1] planted in vineyards, and it is probable that even this comparatively wide area does not fairly represent the immense cultivation of vines in the early ages of Greek civilization.

A land of the vine and the mulberry.

The census of 1876 showed a total of more than two million of mulberry trees under cultivation in Greece. Throughout Peloponnesus scarcely a peasant, in mediæval or modern times, but has had a few mulberries growing, and scarcely a peasant's wife but has carried about the gathered eggs of the silkworm in her bosom. In primitive times the fruit of this tree was employed for food as one of the native berries of Greece, and to the present day it is not to be neglected as a summer fruit.

The silkworm products; figs and the citrus fruits.

But greater than the mulberry is the fig. In Attica, at the present time as

[1] The *stremma* is about one fourth of an acre.

in the remotest ages of the dawn, the fig tree grows to perfection. Also in Messenia it flourishes. It is reckoned that the fig orchards of modern Greece exceed three hundred thousand trees. The fruit has in no wise degenerated from its ancient qualities. Such as it was when first planted or discovered by the incoming Ionians it is to-day. The same may be said of the apricots and the pomegranates, which grow abundantly on all the lower levels and plains of Greece. All of the varieties of the citrus fruits abound—oranges, lemons, citrons, and limes—both on the mainland and in the outlying islands of the archipelago.

The viticulture of Hellas has for a long time extended over a peculiar variety of grape having its native place in the rich country about Corinth. It is called the *currant* in the land of its production and also in the markets of the West. This berry is said to constitute the largest single export from modern Greece. The census of 1876 shows an exportation of one hundred and ninety-five million pounds of this small grape, well known in the markets of England and America as the chief constituent of plum-pudding. Doubtless the fruit in question has flourished from the earliest ages, and we may conceive the delight of even the old Pelasgic tribes in finding themselves in the native thickets

Fame and abundance of the Greek currants.

MODERN MARKET SCENE AT DHOMOCO, THESSALY.—Composed by Tofani, under direction of Henzey.

where this vine hung heavy with its treasure.

It is not needed to enumerate the vast, almost infinite, variety of fruits and vegetables, berries and grains, native or imported, that have flourished and still flourish in the valleys and on the plains of Hellas. No other country in the world has had so great variety and so great abundance. True, the area was not large; but nature was here in her intensest mood. She gave of her riches. Her wealth was at first hand. And so amid this abundance the Hellenic family, notably the Ionians and the Dorians, began their career. They reached forth their hand and took from the hand of nature the nourishment which was destined to increase and intensify the native vigor of the people, already vigorous and intense by journeyings and adventure, by poetic exploit and warlike hazard in many lands.

Richness of the land in vegetables, grains, and berries.

Not only were the Greeks thus in the early ages brought into contact with the most varied and abundant resources of the natural world, as it respects what things soever sprang from the bosom of the earth, but they also found themselves in a region where the old struggle with animal life continued. There was a happy balancing of the vegetable and the animal kingdom, as well as a parallelism between the two in respect to va-

Balancing of vegetable and animal means of subsistence.

HARBOR OF HYDRA.—Drawn by Barclay, after a sketch of H. Belle.

GREEK SHIPS.—Harbor of Hydra.—Drawn by Charles W. Wyllie.

riety and fecundity. The hills of primitive Greece teemed with all manner of living creatures. The wild boar, the wolf, the bear, the lynx, the wild cat, the jackal, and the fox were everywhere and abounded. The wild goat was then an inhabitant of Greece, and to this day finds, so far as Europe is concerned, his last refuge in some of the islands of the archipelago. Game has ever been abundant in Hellas. The red deer, the fallow deer, the roe, the hare, the rabbit, and innumerable other varieties of animated creatures, hoofed and pawed, winged or finned, provoked the adventurous Greek to the excitements of the chase.

Here, then, we have the beginnings of the food-supply of the Hellenic race. But this was not all. The country was created for commerce. Everywhere the ocean has eaten into the land, and everywhere the land reaches into the sea. Harbors are without number. The whole coast is virtually a haven. As if not satisfied with surrounding all the outer shore of Hellas with bays and inlets, nature went within and divided the small country in twain by an inland sea of salt water, safe and capacious for all manner of ships. Already the adventures and excursions of the Hellenes had fitted them for commercial enterprise. Already the journeys of the people had reached out over sea as well as land. Already, by their experiences on the coasts of Asia Minor and in the islands of the archipelago, they had become wise in the management of ships. They were a people, moreover, quick to discern and eager to recognize the value of foreign products and the advantages of interchange. Thus were laid in nature the foundations of the striking aptitude of the Greeks for commercial enterprise. They were, from the first, the British, the Portuguese, the Dutch of antiquity.

Greece created and the Greeks developed for commerce.

Thus at a very early age the Greeks, out of the resources of their own country and by foreign commerce, supplied themselves with the first necessaries of life. It can not be doubted that the character of the food which the primitive peoples were able to obtain, the method of its preparation and of its taking, had much to do with their development. Eating is far more important in its relations with the body of youth than with the more hardened personage of mature life. So in the youth of nations, to be well fed was to be well bred. There appears to have been, moreover, in the Greek an element of taste with respect to food for which we should look in vain among any other ancient people. He not only fed himself plentifully, abundantly, but also tastefully. He was not as the Roman or the Assyrian a gourmand by nature and practice. His eating was a rational action, and his selection and adaptation of food was a process of right thinking and good taste.

Strong reactions of the food-supply on Greek character.

Already, in the age of Homer, the natural condition and distribution of food was a matter of prime importance. The epic concept of food-taking was wholly free from the coarse and degraded notions which many nations have attached thereto. With Homer bread and the distribution of bread, the meat of the sacrifice and its savory smell, were subjects of poetic thought. With him the eating of his heroes was as poetical as their battle. His resounding hexameters knew no difference between the clang of the drinking cups and the lifting of roast meats from spits and beds of coals on the one side, and the clang of shields and the burial of dead heroes on the other. The one

Food-taking idealized in the epic poetry of the Greeks.

GREEK BANQUET.—Reception to Socrates at House of Agathon.—Drawn by A. Feuerbach.

was the means of developing and ennobling his warriors, and the other the means of their destruction.

Greek table becomes the center of the civilized life.

From the earliest ages the table of the Greek became in some sense the center of his civilization. Here all of his tastes were cultivated. Beginning with the gratification of his palate and the strengthening of his physical nature, he gave free rein to his thought. He spoke, and his friends at the board responded. There was elegant converse. The Greek table was the first point of light which shone out of the old barbarism; and the garland of flowers which the nude waiting-boy handed to the lady of the house, who reclined at the board between her lord and her father, and with which her delicate hands crowned their brows, was the emblem and promise of the art and poetry of the Greeks.

Hellenic society organized around the market.

These fundamental facts in the life of the Hellenes soon passed into their organic development. In the earliest towns built by the Greeks, whether Dorians or Ionians, the central idea was not the place of justice, not the bema where the orator was to stand, not the gymnasium where the youth was to be educated, not even the temple of the gods, but simply the *Market*. We should look in vain among all other ancient peoples for this so physical an emblem in the heart of municipality. Not in the outskirts of his town did the Greek plant his market place; not in the dirty purlieus of his less attractive streets and alleys did he establish booths and sheds for the sale of what things soever his gardeners, his fishermen, his merchants had brought together for the support of life; but in his best square, in his center around which all the other interest of his city were to be set in disposal, there he made his market place, and adorned it with art.

The most learned and artistic travelers of the ancient or the modern world could but be astonished were they introduced again into the splendid surroundings, the beauties, the elegance, the refinement of the old Greek markets. Nothing like them has been found otherwhere along the wharves, within the walled towns, or as concomitants to the great cities built by men.

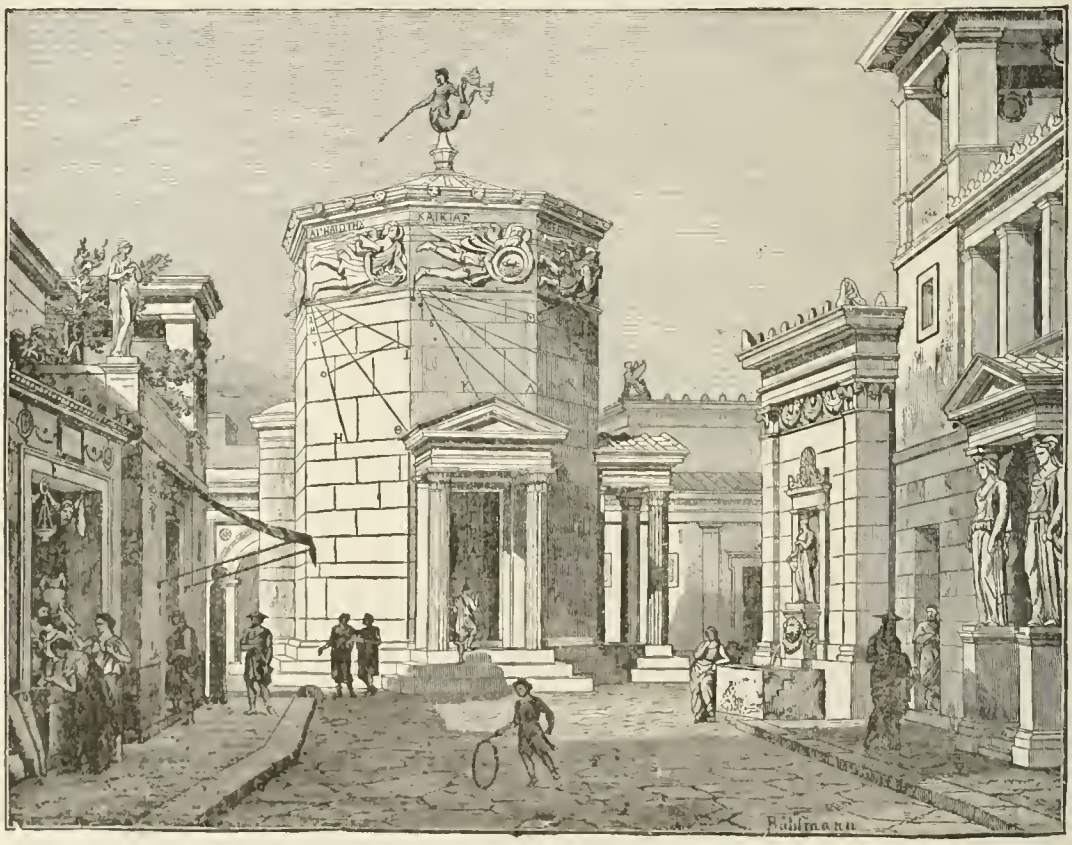
Splendid concomitants of the market place in Sparta.

Even among the austere Dorians the same practice prevailed in the building of their towns. Here before us is the market place of Sparta—primitive Sparta —that old Sparta which was created by the Dorian race in the early days after the conquest of Peloponnesus. It is a broad, open space, paved with marble. Around it are splendid columns, and porticoes elaborately carved and surmounted with statues. Marble seats have been hewn out for the common people where they may sit on coming to buy. Here in the foreground is the statue of Hermes of the Agora. He holds in his arms the infant Bacchus. This single statue would be an art treasure sufficient to distinguish any city of modern times. To the right is an immense portico of marble columns. Far in the background is the citadel, also of white marble. In the rear of the plaza stands superbly the colossal statue of the Spartan people, with brazen shield and inverted spear. To the left and at the rear of the open space is the temple of the Moirai, containing the bones of Orestes. To the right is a smaller, but still more famous fane; it is the memorial hall in which are gathered and preserved the spoils and trophies of the Persian War. One very side are marble elevations and pillars and statues with-

out number. Yet this is Sparta, city of the Dorians, grimmest of all the Greeks.

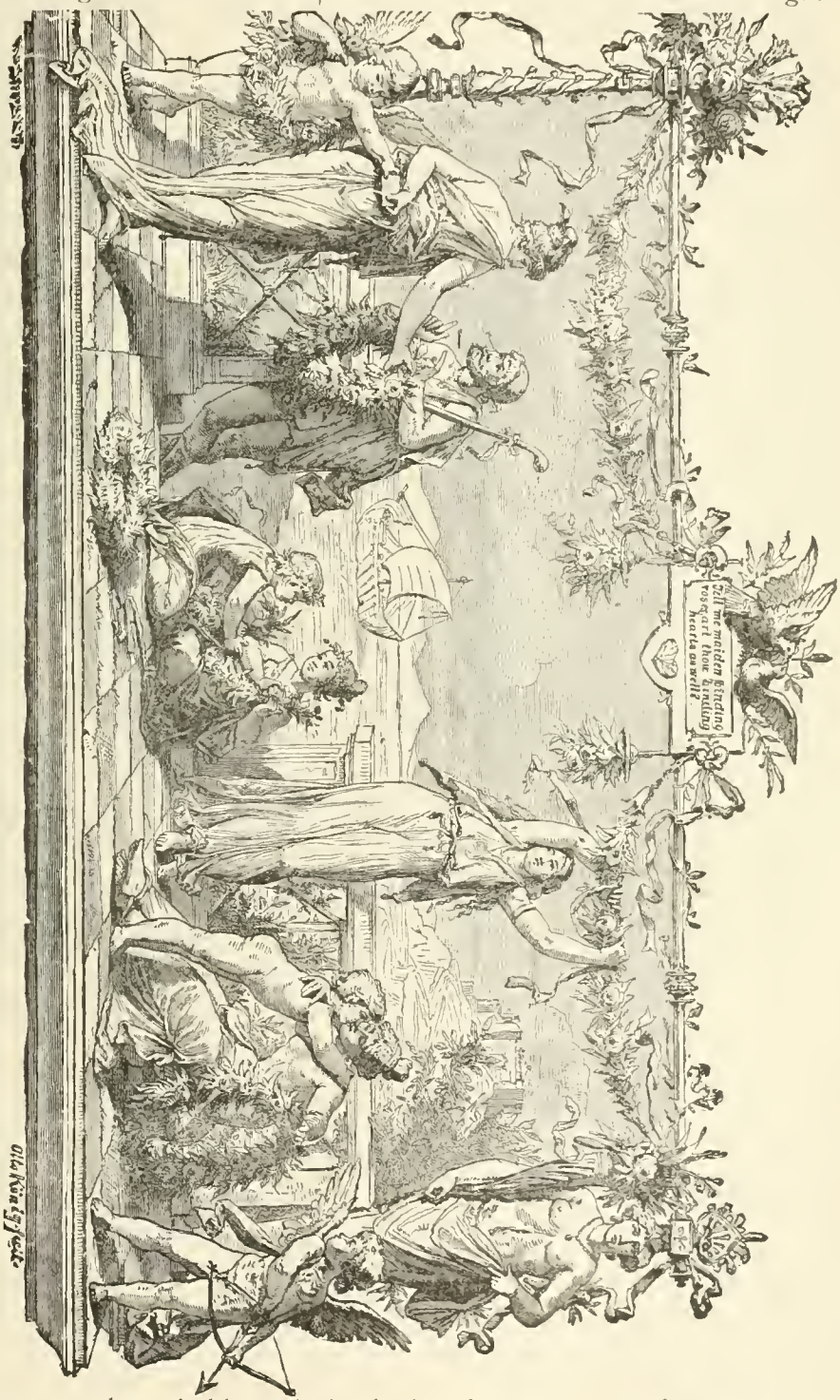
What, then, shall we expect in the market place of Athens? These are the joyous, effervescent Ionian Greeks, to whom the pleasure of congregation is a *sine qua non* of living. This is the elegant race who, beginning on the same level of a material existence, rose and flowered like a lily from the soil. The market of Athens was one of the marvels of antiquity. It was set at the south acclivity of the Acropolis, overlooked by the Parthenon and the statue of Athena Promachos. The great square was paved with marble. At the right was the magnificent Portico of the Eponymoi, where were gathered the statues of the ancestors of the Ionian race. A little to the left and further on was the celebrated Areopagus. In the foreground and facing on the square was the world-renowned Bema where the orators stood in addressing the populace. Behind and beyond rose the magnificent rotunda of the Bouleuterion where the *Boul'e* or Great Council of Five Hundred, was wont to assemble. Then came the great marble stairway, broad and beautiful, leading up between the Bema and the Temple of Peace. Under the shelter of the latter stood the Statue of Peace, with the child Plutus in her arms. Beyond and still to the left was the Portico Poicile, dating as far back as the days of Pisistratus, and adorned by some of the most famous chisels and brushes in Athens. Above and beyond loomed the native precipice of the Acrop-

Features and art works of the Athenian market.



STREET IN ATHENS, SHOWING TOWER OF THE WINDS.—Drawn by J. Buhlmann.

olis, while still to the left was the portico and colonnade of King Attalus. All of these wonderful structures, in which was expressed the best genius of the most active race of men, were done in shining marble, over which the Attic sunshine spread its splendors, while the most illustrious of the Greeks gathered in the market place not only to buy their fruits and meats and flowers, but to walk and gesticulate and debate the questions of the day.



FLOWER GIRLS OF THE ATHENIANS.—Drawn by O. Konig.

The keen artistic sense of the Greeks laid under tribute all the beauties of the natural world. Theirs was the kingdom of leaves and blossoms. No table of the Greeks, no banquet, no household meal was complete without its rich display of flowers. These were done into garlands by the women, and were worn where only the family were gathered on the heads or around the bodies of

the eaters. Other garlands were put as crowns about the wine vases and cups; and the dishes of viands were not ready to be served until the rim of the plate had its trimming of leaves and blossoms. There was in every city a flower market having special reference to the feast, to the banquet. Nor was it a rude and uncertain class of women and girls who brought hither the treasures of the flower garden and the field, but elegant Greek maidens and the well-attired of the poorer class came with their baskets laden to the brim with the choicest garlands. Those who would decorate their homes went to this market and received from the hands of women who might well have stood as models for Phidias the beautiful wreaths which were to adorn the tables of numberless homes in Athens.

Flower treasures of the banquet and the flower girls.

ON THE PROMENADE OF THE AGORA—COSTUMES AND TYPES.
From a vase.

Not only blossoms appeared, but garlands of myrtle and ivy and of the silver poplar were woven in artistic form by the women and carried to the market place. Nor were these treasures lightly flung aside when they had subserved their purpose and began to fade. They were carried away by the guests as mementos. The lover hung up his wreath at the door, and with all the idealism of a Greek wrote beneath it:

Poetical estimate of wreaths and garlands.

"Fair as these flowers, like them thou soon shalt fade."

Here, then, sprang up and began to blossom the ideal life of the Greeks. The market place was not only the scene of an interchange of products, of the selling of meats and fruits and flowers, not only the place of elegant shops where other forms of merchandise were bartered for gain, but it was also the Bourse of Thought. Here idea was offered for idea, conceit for conceit. Plans were made and developed. From the market radiated almost all the lines of institutional life among the Greeks. The political tendencies of the times germinated here, and here the public life took form.

The market of the Greeks the Bourse of Thought.

In the market the aspects of private life were in a large measure determined. Manners and customs grew in this fecund city of activities. Hither men came to offer their opinions, to combat the opinions of others, to stand for leadership, to control the forces of society. Others came through vanity. Fashions were made in the agora. The young fops of Athens here displayed their newest suits, and here the sages and philosophers walked about, wearing their short Dorian cloaks and carrying their

What things were proposed and discussed in the agora.

knotty staves, cut from the myrtle bough. Here was seen the gnarled brows and Promethean eyes of Socrates, glaring at some sophist against whose sapless folly he thundered some unanswerable aphorism, and here the stooping and tattered Diogenes went about, like the cynic that he was, carrying his lighted lantern at noonday.

As we have said, many of the most important civil interests of the Greek cities were grouped about their market places. In Athens, for instance, the great Bouleuterion, or Council Chamber of the Five Hundred, was set below the Acropolis and facing on the market. It was thus convenient for members of the Boule to meet each other informally in the agora, and turn thence to the sitting of the council. In coming forth, the first thing which the senators and judges of the Greek states would see was the plaza of the agora, with its assemblage of marketers and citizens. In the Bouleuterion was conducted the important business of the state. Here was taken the initiative in all legislative matters. Here the measures were devised by which the public finances were regulated, the soldiery provided for, the decision reached for war, and the vote taken for peace. Here also the envoys and ministers from foreign states were received, and the diplomatic intercourse between the city and distant countries conducted.

Relations of the market and the Bouleuterion.

The market place in the democratic cities of the Ionians had a greater importance than among the Dorian cities of the south; but the aristocratic form of Greek society was also nurtured in the agora. In Sparta, as well as in Athens, the market was the place where the Gerontes, or Old Men, were wont to come and interchange their wisdom. Here the Ephoroi assembled and conducted the government. Under the colonnades of the market place any company of free Spartans might assemble and speak, in their laconic way, of public affairs; but the Spartan orator was not encouraged. He gave only the pith of the thing, and said no more. There

In the Spartan agora aristocracy was nourished.

FISHING BEACH.—Drawn by G. Vuillier, after a sketch of H. Belle.

was no response, no agitation, none of that humming and buzzing, that clatter of the tongue and flourish of the arms peculiar to the agora of the democratic states. For this reason the Dorian cities did not to a like degree have the center of their civil institutions in the agora. We must remember, however, the peculiarity of Sparta. As already said, it has been denied that the Spartans were the typical representatives of the Dorian race. If we should take Corinth as an example of Doric development, we should find a much closer approximation to the form of life and social evolutions peculiar to the Ionians.

Commercially speaking, it must not be understood that the market place of a Greek city was the scene of merely light and transient barter. On the contrary, it was the place of the solid and extensive business upon which the commerce and trade of the whole state depended. Here the bankers and brokers had their *trapezai*, or tables, from which the money dealings of the city were transacted. The great merchants, the importers, and shippers congregated at these banks. It was the primitive board of trade; and already many of the vices and much of the heat peculiar to the modern exchange had appeared in the heart of the Greek metropolis. There were speculation and fraud. Handfuls of counterfeit money were thrown down on the trapezai to be rejected by the connoisseurs behind the tables. The bankers made checks, drew bills of exchange, and received deposits, much after the manner of modern times. Borrowers and lenders came together in the marble porticoes where these things were done, and the old man who had completed his will on the previous night handed it across the marble table to a banker for safe keeping.

Commerce also centered in the market.

In no other situation may the life and manners of the Greeks be studied to better advantage than in the market place. It was an open arena in which the Hellenic genius displayed its powers and tendencies at will. Men, set free, show their nature for what it is. Artificiality disappears with liberation. In the market the Greeks went free, and the natural man was revealed in all his aptitudes and passions. Here he walked and talked and acted under the dominion of those natural forces which, like a half-transparent garment, clad without concealing his person and his spirit.

The market an arena for the study of Greek character.

But it is not intended in this connection to branch out into a discussion of the manners and customs of the Greek people. The point here made is that the market place was a sort of center in the life of Hellas. Beginning with the food-supply of the people, with the gathering and distribution of those varied products which the Greek peasants brought in from the gardens and orchards, the sheepfolds and fishing beaches, the citizens soon extended and enlarged the functions of their market into a true agora around which were gathered most of the interests of the people. The instinctive tastes of the Hellenes led them to adorn, beautify, and extend the scene of their intercourse, until at length marble supplied the place of wood, art the place of primitive rudeness, and wit the place of vulgarity.

Social life of the Greeks was fashioned in the agora.

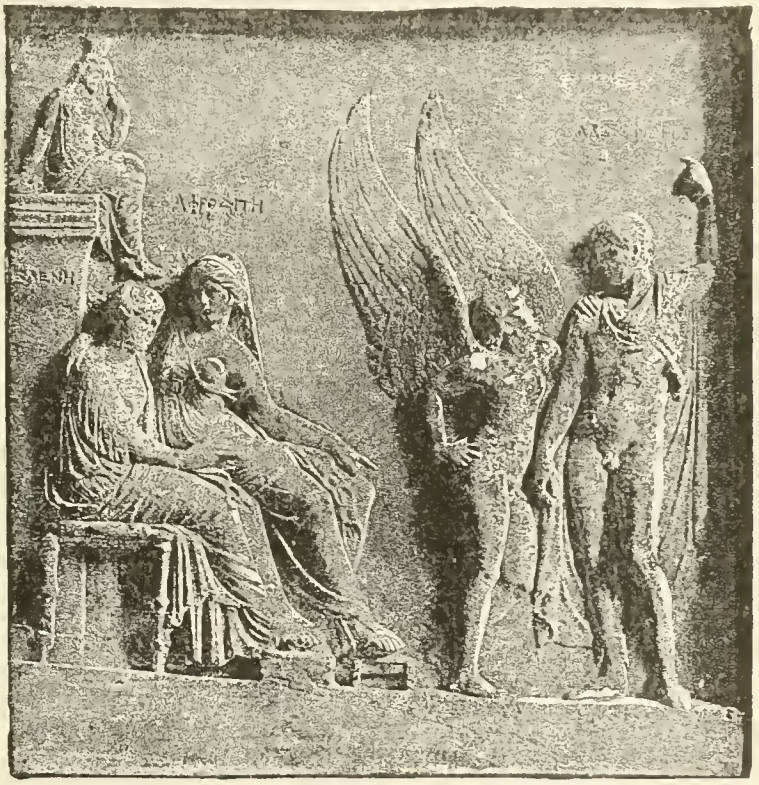
CHAPTER XLVIII.—THE WOMEN—PHYSICAL TRAINING.

LET us now descend at once to the bottom fact of the social state, the relation of man and woman. In following the migrations of the Aryans to the West we have thus far looked at the movement of *men*, without stopping to consider the fact of sex as the necessary concomitant circumstance of human life and progress. Already in Western Asia Minor the woman begins to rise. In Phrygia she makes a prehistoric apparition. At Troy it is manifest that she has become a power—not only a power, but in some sense the glory of the city. All the Homeric narrative revolves about her. She is evidently in the ascendent on both sides of the Ægean. Andromache is in Ilium and Helen is in Mycenæ. About these two all the heroic action turns. In the progress of the Homeric narrative, both *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, we are able to trace the epic concept of the women of the Hellenic dawn.

Woman rises to honor with the West Aryans.

We have only to glance at the character which the epic and tragic poets of the earliest ages of Greek literature gave to women to catch the fundamental notions and practices of the race. Alcestis sacrifices herself to restore her husband. Iphigenia offers her life, and feels no bitterness. Antigone follows her blind father and suffers with him all the misery of banishment. Penelope is almost as much the heroine of the *Odyssey* as her husband is the hero. No picture has ever been drawn of a more ideal perfection in the love and devotion of woman to man than that of Andromache to the valiant Hector. Nothing shakes her from her allegiance. No horror of the overhanging doom disturbs her fidelity or clouds her hope. Even Helen is more sinned against than sinning. The gods had planned a stratagem, and she was one of the victims of the play. Arete

Splendid fame of the great women of the Greeks.



HELEN OF TROY.
From a marble relief of the third century B. C.

is not more religious as a queen than as a woman. It is her womanhood rather than her majesty that appeases the multitude and settles the quarrel of the state. Everywhere the picture of woman in the epic dawn has the same outline of nobility and beauty; and even in the post-epic age she survives for a while as the divinity of the man and the princess of the state.

Painful falling of woman from her place in Greek society.

It is therefore all the more painful to note first the check and then the retrogression of woman in ancient Greek society. In the age of the evolution of the political power of the Greek states forces appeared which, while they promoted the man, thrust back the woman. True, she was not converted again into a slave. True, some portions of her old-time dignity and queenliness remained through all the subsequent vicissitudes of Greek history. But she lost her place at the head of society, and became to a great degree the servant and associate rather than the companion and queen of her lord.

Rage of the democracy drove the women from the agora.

Nor are we greatly embarrassed in determining the causes of this fall. It was the work of the Ionian democracies. So radical and violent were the activities of the ancient citizens that woman was obliged to retire from the agora and the public place into the shadow of the Gynæconitis for shelter and safety. Here she must remain in seclusion while the powerful action of the comedy and the tragedy were carried forward in the outer world. This to say that domestic life, which was really the only life in the Homeric epoch, gave place to the public life, which was the only life of the classical ages. With the evolution of the state men devoted themselves to the public life, and the domestic life sank into unimportance. With it went down the primacy of the Greek woman. Within the walls of the Gynæconitis she was no longer able to keep pace with the intellectual development and activities of her lord. Her restriction became a habit, and the progress of democracy in the agora was concomitant with the retrogression of the private life in the Greek home.

The Spartan woman kept her place at the fore.

It was for the reasons here delineated that in Dorian Sparta, where aristocracy instead of democracy became the bottom principle in civil society, woman long continued to hold her rank by the side of the man, such as it had been in the old days of the heroic war. The Spartan wife or mother was still a princess, a queen, long after the Ionian woman—even of sparkling Athens—was lost in the seclusion of the Gynæconitis. To the end of the Dorian ascendency the woman of Sparta maintained her preeminence. Her like for vigor and courage was never seen otherwhere among the nations of the earth. It was said as a sort of mocking satire that not even the iron legislation of Lycurgus could reduce the women of Sparta to submission or curb the audacity of their spirit. But the satire was taken by those against whom it was directed as the highest compliment! They answered that if they were the only beings whom the Lycurgian laws had been unable to reduce, they were also the only beings who had ever given birth to *men*.

Athletic discipline of the girl-children of Sparta.

From infancy the Spartan girl-child was subjected to the very same physical exercises and general discipline as her brother. If the latter was destined to be a warrior, the former was destined to be a warrior's wife and the mother of other warriors. The Spartan maiden

MORNING IN THE WOMAN'S COURT OF A GREEK HOUSE.—Drawn by E. Klimsch.

appeared on the Olympic race course, at the festival of Hera, and ran for the crown of olive. If she won, her portrait was set up in commemoration of the victory. At the religious festivals the custom was the same. Women were not only permitted to share the rites, but their service was a necessary part of the national religion. After her marriage the Spartan matron not only assumed the supremacy of her household, but she also had the management of the slaves, that horde of half-savage and insubordinate Helots who were always the menace of the state. Her authority was absolute, and even her freeborn lord, when at home, yielded to her commands.

Of a certainty this life of the Dorian woman was a purely physical life. Of intellectual development, properly so called, she knew nothing. In this she was at one with her husband. He not only knew nothing of ideality and intellectual preëminence, but he despised both. The culture was simply physical. But it was impossible that such culture should not produce startling intellectual effects. For the mind is the flower of the body; and if the stem be vigorous, the flower is likely to be beautiful. But culture is still necessary to refine and purify—to give fragrance and ideal perfections to the blossom of life. It is sufficient to say of the Spartan woman that she was the most vigorous and perfect if not the most beautiful animal of the ancient world.

Dorian culture was from a purely physical basis.

GREEK WOMEN AT HOUSEHOLD DUTIES.—Drawn by E. Klimsch.

With the growth of democracy among

the Ionian peoples the woman, as we have said, was thrust into the background, but she was not destroyed. In her restricted sphere she continued preëminent. It is true that the glory of Greek womanhood was not, on the whole, comparable with the glory of Greek manhood. We speak now of the age of the Hellenic ascendency, when power and learning and art had come; when Athens sparkled as the eye of Greece.

Ionian women retained a measure of preëminence.

The Ionian women, however, could not be retired into the shadow of the splendid male-life of the race without some peculiar social effects. The dammed-up current of womanhood sought a side channel of development where the waters were more brilliant and free, but at the same time more dangerous and uncertain in their course. The Ionian laws of marriage were extremely severe as it respected the fidelity of the woman who entered wedlock, but they threw no restraint upon the lord of the house. The Attic democrats were careful not to lay social fetters upon themselves. They took all the liberty which the age, the circumstances, and their own caprice suggested. To meet the wayward fancy of the great Greeks a large division of the Ionian women were diverted from marriage proper into a career of social freedom which, while it was not a positive degradation, at least not the depth of degradation, was nevertheless a wide departure from the canons of monogamic virtue. A class of talented and audacious women called *Hetairai* arose; that is, the "others." These others were the female friends of what Greeks soever they could bring within the circle of their influence and affection. The relation was a peculiar one. The hetairai and the matrons of the Ionian cities became competitors for the favor of the great men of the race. To the modern inquirer it seems strange that such a

Place of the Hetairai in Greek society.

ONE OF THE HETAIRAI—TYPE.
Drawn by C. Kolb.

state of society could have existed without self-destruction as its end; but the canon of the times was so little severe that the home life of the Greek was not much disturbed by the license of the man.

Distinction attained by this class of women.

However pitable in many respects the condition of the hetairai must have been, in other regards it had its brilliant aspects. It can not be doubted that much of the genius of the Greek women took this course. Born with, which wasted itself unspoken in the shadows of the Gynæconitis, found free expression when the possessor was a hetaire. Women of this class became noted in public life. They received the adulation of the most distinguished citizens of the Ionian states. They became the companions and counselors of those great Attic democrats whose magisterial intellect ruled the world for a season. They showed at least that the intellect and will as well as the taste of woman are able to express themselves in the grandest and most brilliant activities when once the condition of freedom is attained. It appears, moreover, that a standard of virtue, such as it was, was established and maintained by the hetairai of the Greek cities. There was much fidelity between the versatile, witty, and accomplished women of this class and the men with whom they were associated by no tie other than that of preference, admiration, and a certain kind of affection.

APHRODITE.
Drawn by L. Michalek, from the Venus of Cnidos.

Not a little was the current history deflected at times by the influence of the woman who was associated at the head of affairs with the leader of the epoch. Hardly any great Greek was free from the entanglements of this relation. Pericles had for his companion the famous Aspasia, whose intellectual and otherwise exalted character has shed a luster even upon the class of which she was the greatest ornament. So preeminent was she in her day that the greatest philosophers and statesmen visited her home. Her fascination was of the mind, far above the region of mere erotic illusion. Saturnine Socrates himself sat at her feet, and declared that he had learned eloquence from her lips. He was also conversant with a second distinguished woman named Diotima, from whose conversation he gathered all that is set forth concerning the nature of love in the celebrated *Symposium* of Plato. Pericles freely ascribed to Aspasia the best parts of his eloquence, and it has been alleged that his great oration, or panegyric, on the soldiers who fell in the Samian war was com-

Ascendency of the hetairai over statesmen and philosophers.

ASPASIA.
Drawn by C. Kolb, from the bust in the Vatican.

posed by her, to be spoken by him. Strange commentary, that after the death of the greatest of all the Athenian democrats, the woman who had thus ruled him and through him the Hellenic world, should have married Lysikles, a common fool of the city!

"Destroyed by Alexander; rebuilt by Phryne the Hetaire." Such was the inscription which the beautiful, but audacious, reprobate proposed to put on the restored walls of Thebes—restored by her own wealth and profusion, which she had gathered as the contributions of the most distinguished Athenians, not even excepting Demosthenes. The walls of Thebes had been thrown down by the Conqueror, and the people of the devastated city had not the means of restoration; but *she* was able to restore the walls, and would do it if they would allow her to associate her name with that of Alexander and also to attach the word which designated the class of brilliant and reckless women to which she belonged!

"Destroyed by Alexandor; rebuilt by Phryne the Hetaire."

Like Aspasia, Phryne was a power in Attica at a time when Attica was still a power in the earth. Statues of her, done by Praxiteles himself, were set up alongside of that of Aphrodite, at Thespiæ, and between the votive offerings of the King of Sparta and of Philip of Macedon at the shrine of Delphi. She it was whom Apelles painted as the Venus of the Seafoam, and she it was whom Praxiteles made his model when he chiseled the imperishable Aphrodite of Cnidos.

Artists make Phryne their model and ideal.

It were vain to extend the list of these brilliant creatures whose wit and beauty were so powerful over the destinies of Greece. At Corinth, Laïs, another of the number, was reckoned in her day the fairest woman of the Greek world. Such was her reputation that devotees—if not victims—from many states were at her altars, and of her it might well be said, in the time of her triumph:

"Hellas, resplendent in martial fame, unconquered in battle,
Willingly bent her haughty neck to the power of beauty."

If the hetairai among the Greek women were in the ascendent during the age of Hellenic glory, the matrons of the home rose above them in the time of the political decline. It was the evolution of democracy which led to the seclusion of the home-women of the Greeks, and it was the decadence of that same democracy which led to their emergence. As the hilarious uproar of the agora and the pnyx passed away, the Greek citizens fell back from the exuberant public life which they had hitherto led into a home life, more pronounced than that which had prevailed in the times of the political greatness of Greece. It thus happened that so far as the women of the Ionian Hellenes were concerned, they are displayed in two epochs of greatness; first, in the dawn, when epic poetry brew in elegant hexameters the outlines of womanhood in primitive Hellas; and, second, in that later day, when the political sun of the Greeks was going down in the west. Between these two eras the intellectual life of woman was eclipsed, or had its manifestation only in the brilliant and lawless audacity of the hetairai. In Sparta the Dorian wife and mother maintained their ascendency to the end; and in the last days, we find the mother and wife of King Agis after his death, urging on Cleomenes and his warriors in a final effort for the freedom of their country.

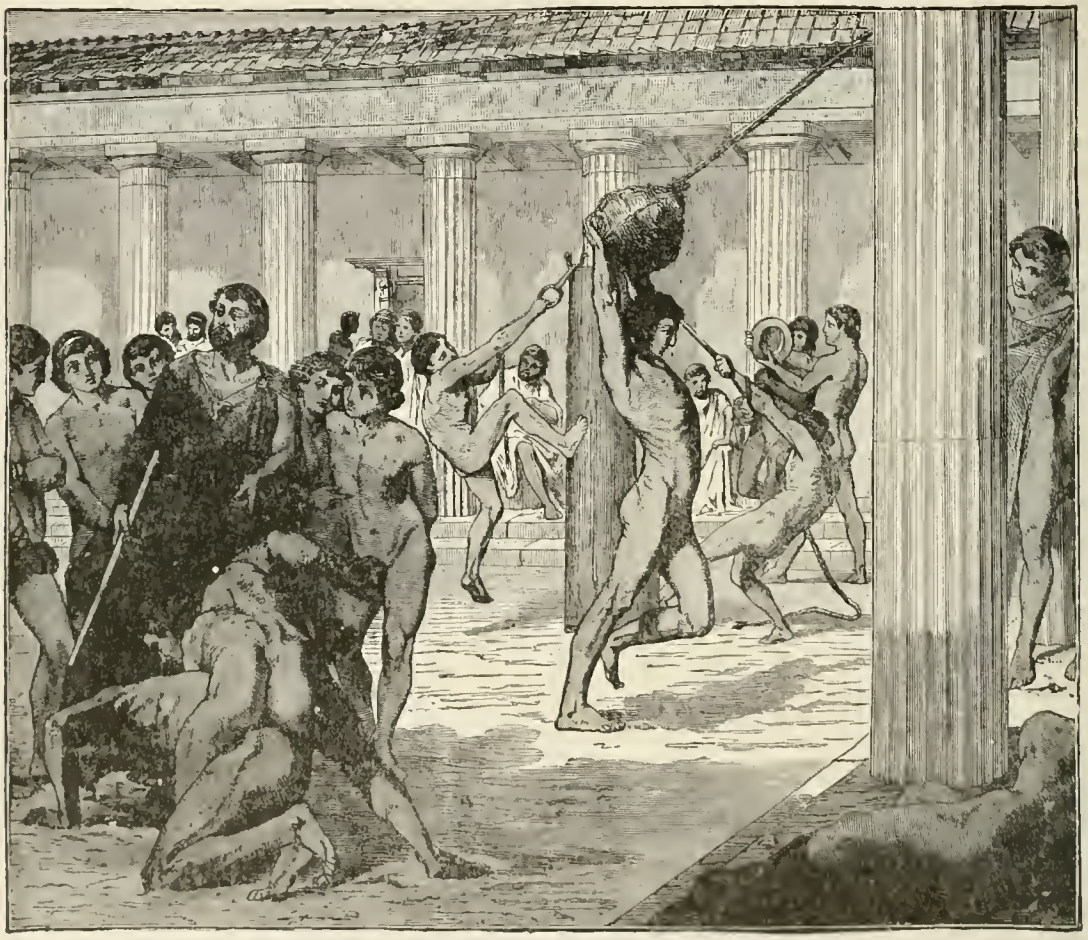
Women of the home emerge with the decline of Greece.

Life among the Greeks was a physical rather than a moral product. It was evolved merely by natural forces and supported by natural means. From this point of view we may understand the small estimation in which life was held among the Hellenes. They reckoned it with death. The infant was less the property of the mother and the father than of the city.

Reasons for slight estimate of life among the Greeks.

We are here face to face with the subject of the treatment which Greek children received at birth. The child was, in the primitive ages, subjected to the in-

Destruction of imperfect children; manner of exposure.



GYMNASTIC EXERCISES OF PARTAN YOUTH.—Drawn by P. Grot Johann.

as a force to be employed for the good of the state. Notwithstanding the intense individualism of the race, notwithstanding the almost insane democracy of the Ionians, the theory of the subordination of the individual life to the life of the city was strenuously maintained. This theory began in its application with birth, and ended only

spection of the Ephors, or their representatives, and the question passed whether or not the infant was worthy of preservation. It does not seem that there was much discrimination against girl infants. The principle was general. If the child was weak or disproportioned, or had any serious defect in its physical nature, it was rejected and given over to

the destroyer. In that event the infant was borne away to the ravines or hills and left to perish. The actual destruction was effected by wolves or foxes or birds of prey. It seems that those who had the disposal of the rejected children in hand shrank from the actual act of murder, and took the circuitous method of exposure to ravenous beasts.

The accepted children were kept for a while by the mothers, and then, if Spartans, were delivered over to the public. The principle of communism now prevailed. The youth was to be made into a warrior, or, if a girl, into a warrior's wife. To this end the means of physical culture were diligently and assiduously applied. The whole education consisted of gymnastic exercises, with such incidental development of the mind as might be acquired in the general process. Boys and youth were permitted to listen to the laconic sayings of the Gerontes, but were not permitted to participate until they were thirty years of age. Conversation in the chief Dorian city was always disparaged. It was one of the many superfluities which the Ionians might cultivate, but which every true Dorian ought to despise.

Communal training of Spartan children and youth.

In the northern states of Greece, and even in those parts of Peloponnesus lying next thereto, the rigor of the southern discipline was much relaxed. In Attica children were not destroyed after the barbaric age. The method of culture also was in the Attic cities directed to both body and mind. It might be impossible to state accurately at what time regular schools were first instituted in Thebes and Athens; but it is certain that from the earliest epoch of Greek progress, the children of the Ionians were subjected to a more rational and humane kind of discipline than those of the Peloponnesian cities. In course of time much attention was given by the Attic philosophers to the subject of education, and the methods which they employed were long regarded as the most efficient of any in ancient times. As late as the seventeenth century, in England, there were still great thinkers who accepted the Greek model of the school; and even Milton, in his educational scheme, followed that model in nearly all of its details and peculiarities.

More rational and humane methods of North Greeks.

We have already pointed out the theory which underlay the training of the youth in all the Grecian states, whether Ionian or Dorian. It was the making of a citizen who should belong to the state—the construction of a perfect human block that should fit exactly and permanently into the edifice. Among no other people has this dogma been so absolute and invariable in its application as among the Hellenes. At the same time that it was sought to develop all of the human forces in the individual and to make him perfect in his kind and structure, it was also sought to fashion the unit with strict reference to the whole of which he was a part.

Greek training looked to the making of citizens.

That whole was the city or state. City and state were essentially convertible terms. The one was the other. That is, the city was the state. There was, of course, an outlying region, a country thickly populated, cultivable, productive; but the country was only so much physical tissue round about the heart, which was the life thereof. The heart was the city. The man was the citizen. Of himself he was nothing. It is surprising in the last degree that this subordination of the individual to the organic structure of society did not appear

Complete subordination of the man to the city.

to fret the great spirits of the Greeks. We do not hear Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, complaining of their complete subjection. We might say that they did not *feel* their slavery to the city. True enough, the results of it were most tangible and terrible in their own lives. The individual was crushed as beneath a stone if he resisted the abuses of and carried out in all of the mature practices of the Greeks. To have said from the bema of any Greek city at any time during the Hellenic ascendency that the state existed only for the benefit of the individual citizen would have been a proposition more startling and more certainly fatal to him who made it than were any of the vague heretical allusions

SCHOOL OF ATHENS.—From the painting by Raphael.

organic power and asserted himself against them.

Such was the tremendous force of the Greek race that this resistance of the man against the despotism of the state was frequent and fatal. The great Greek could not help the conflict which his own nature demanded, but the end was death. All of this began, as we have said, at the birth of the child, was maintained in the theory of discipline, for which the bowl of hemlock was offered to Socrates.

Insubordination to the state fatal to the man.

In history, technically so called, we look outward at the objective activities of men or rather the *results* of those activities. It is a narrative of the forms, aspects, and relations of the works of men rather than of the men themselves; but in ethnic history we look backward at the actors. It is the life and growth of the human race which

In what sense institutions are regarded in ethnic history.

we here consider; not the deeds done by men, but the men, whom we fix our gaze upon and describe. It is an account of the evolution of mankind; but this account necessarily involves the physical apparatus by which the evolution is accomplished. Even the vines which grow on the surface of the earth have a *vehicle*, a means unto an end, the end being their support and development. So there is a vehicle of human growth, an extended apparatus by which the several races of men have successively been aided, as with a staff in the hand, to leap from point to point.

Among the Greeks development was, as we have said, primarily a physical fact; secondarily, an intellectual and moral fact. The means unto the end of physical training was the gymnasium. While it is not fitting in an ethnic history to describe the details of Greek gymnastics considered as a fact, it is entirely proper to examine the same as a system peculiar to the evolution of the Greek character. The gymnasia were a part of the public and private life of the Greeks. The class of exercises having as their primary object the development of the physical life of the people stood between the youth and the state; and they continued to stand between the man and the state.

Greek development first physical, afterwards intellectual.

The principle was of universal application. No Greek youth could reach citizenship except by the way of the gymnasium. The object of the culture to be thus attained was the man himself, his bodily development, his strength, his activity, his beauty. The remoter reference was to the duties of citizenship. It was intended that the man should be fitted for his duties in life by means of the gymnasia; and to this extent they were public institutions; but the bottom idea was that of individual development and perfection, the symmetrical and perfect evolution of the human body to its highest degree of excellence and strength.

Citizenship to be attained only by way of the gymnasium.

In the primitive life of the Greek tribes the gymnasia were simply open spaces where the youth were congregated and trained in exercises by their masters. From the first a wide space, much room, was required for the exertions which, beginning in sport, ended in discipline. The sport itself was a part of the discipline. A large and free exercise of the bodily organs can not be effected in a confined space. The limbs can not be stretched except on the race course and by running and leaping free and far. Soon the gymnastic resorts in the open space were converted into gymnasia proper. Every city had them. In Athens there were three great institutions of the sort. A shady grove suitable for a resort and promenade was generally selected. Within the inclosure there were areas for wrestling; others, for casting the quoit; others, for hurling the javelin; and others still for the extended race. Attached to the gymnasia were buildings where the gymnasts might bathe, anoint their bodies, rub themselves with sand, or apply the scraper in developing and cleansing the skin. In one point porticoes were set apart for games, for conversation, for promenade, and social amusement. Others still were apportioned to the spectators who had themselves passed through the exercises in their youth. Within the arena were altars dedicated to the gods, ornamented with statues, garlanded with flowers.

Evolution and character of the Greek gymnasia.

The gymnastic apparatus of the Greeks was exceedingly simple as compared with the ingenious contrivances of modern times. The youth was projected

OLYMPIC GAMES.—Drawn by O. Kuilla

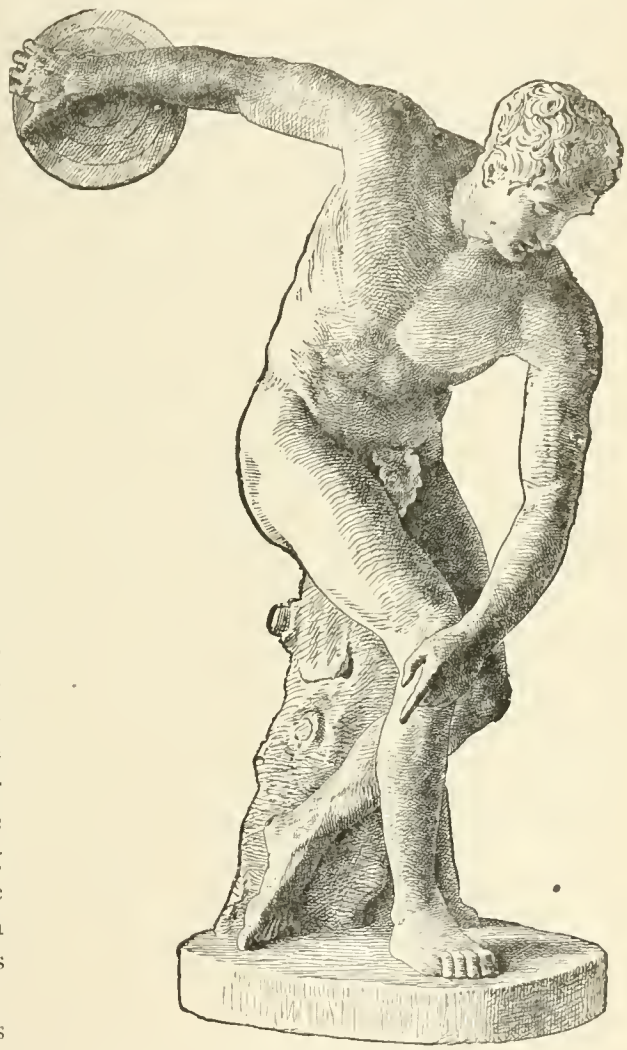
into his sports and training much as any young animal might be flung into the water to learn to swim. The exercises themselves were the natural actions of the human body, rarely artificial. First of all the boy, the young man, even the middle-aged, contestant, must run. An extended course was prepared for this purpose. As a rule, the bottom was of loose, dry sand. It was not intended to furnish the feet with a solid vantage from which to bound, but rather to impede the progress of the runner by the uncertainty of his footing. In the advanced stages of the exercise the runner was weighted with armor, sometimes complete, sometimes only a shield and helmet. Naked was he who bounded through the deep sand, like the splendid young animal that he was, straining for the goal.

Simplicity of the gymnastic apparatus and method.

Of all the Greek gymnastic sports the race was the favorite. The runners attained a marvelous speed. Some of them were swifter than horses; and their endurance as they came in, after the long race, where the judges sat and the garland was waiting—came in with distended nostrils and uplifted arms and flashing eyes—was sublime.

Particular forms of the disciplinary exercises.

Next came leaping. There was the high leap and the distant leap. No artificial aid was permitted. It was the natural spring of the muscles or nothing. In some stages of the leaping exercise and contest weights were taken in the hands and flung behind for momentum as the leaper rose in the air; but some such simple contrivance to give momentum was all that was allowed. In this case the muscular force of the arms was added to the power of the legs for the sudden exertion. Then came the throwing of the javelin. The shaft of the implement must be wound with a thong and hurled with a rotary motion from the hand. In this contest accuracy of aim and distance of the target were the two desiderata.



DISCOBOLUS MAKING THE CAST.
Drawn by H. Volz, from the original in the Palazzo Massini.

The well-informed mind may readily perceive how great is the superiority of this rational, and we might almost say scientific, exertion of the body as a means unto an end when compared with

Superiority of rational to barbaric training.

the results and methods attained by the blow-guns and bows of savages. The native of the Upper Amazon is able, through his blow-gun with a small arrow, to take the life of a monkey in a distant tree-top; but how unlike is such activity, half-empirical and half-savage, to that truly skillful action of the Greek as he sent his spear a-flying into the eye of the distant target! The one is the adroitness of the *implement*, the other the skill of the *man*.

GREEK CHARIOT.—From a vase painting.

Throwing the discus; the discoboli.

Throwing the discus was a Homeric sport. The heroes, in their recreation from war, took heavy circular plates of bronze or iron, perhaps eight inches in diameter, and holding the quoit in the hand, swinging it by the side with a stooping posture, sent it whirling with great force to a mark as far removed as might possibly be reached. The Greeks were a right-handed people. Before the discus was flung it was carried in the left hand, so that the right might reserve its strength for the throwing. These facts entered into Greek art, and the famous statues called *discoboli* show us the attitudes of the throwers.

Greek gymnasia never degenerated into cruelty.

It were vain to enumerate all the methods of gymnastic training which the Greeks practiced in the development of their bodies. This skillful and persistent exercise was one of the leading elements in the product of that wonderfully elastic body which the son of Hellen carried with him in peace and war. And it must be said to the everlasting praise of the Greeks, that notwithstand-

ing the purely physical character of this development, notwithstanding the fact that they were a people to whom the heartful sympathies of life were comparatively unknown, the Greek gymnasia never degenerated into cruelty, torture, butchery. The idea of the beautiful remained in the ascendent to the last. The horrid struggle of man and beast, and of maddened prisoners of war turned loose with swords in the arena, never disgraced the Greek race or stained even its dying twilight with the tinge of blood.

The Greek hippodrome; splendor of the chariot racing.

It is probable that in the latter days the Greek gymnastic contest ceased to have respect to the development of the man, and became a spectacle; but it was always beautiful. The æsthetic spirit of the race never permitted the public games to sink below the old ideal standard. Chariots and horses were at length brought upon the race course, and the most magnificent driving ever seen in the dust of the poor world was that exhibited in the circus of the Greeks. With four tremendous steeds abreast, the standing driver, with reins gathered up and fiery eye and serpent whip that split the shining air, stinging like a hornet as it fell on the foaming flanks of the coursers, screamed his defiance at his rival and urged madly forward to the goal; but there was no blood, no brutality; only the struggle of strength with strength and skill with skill in the mightiest personal contests which were ever witnessed by an excited and shouting populace.

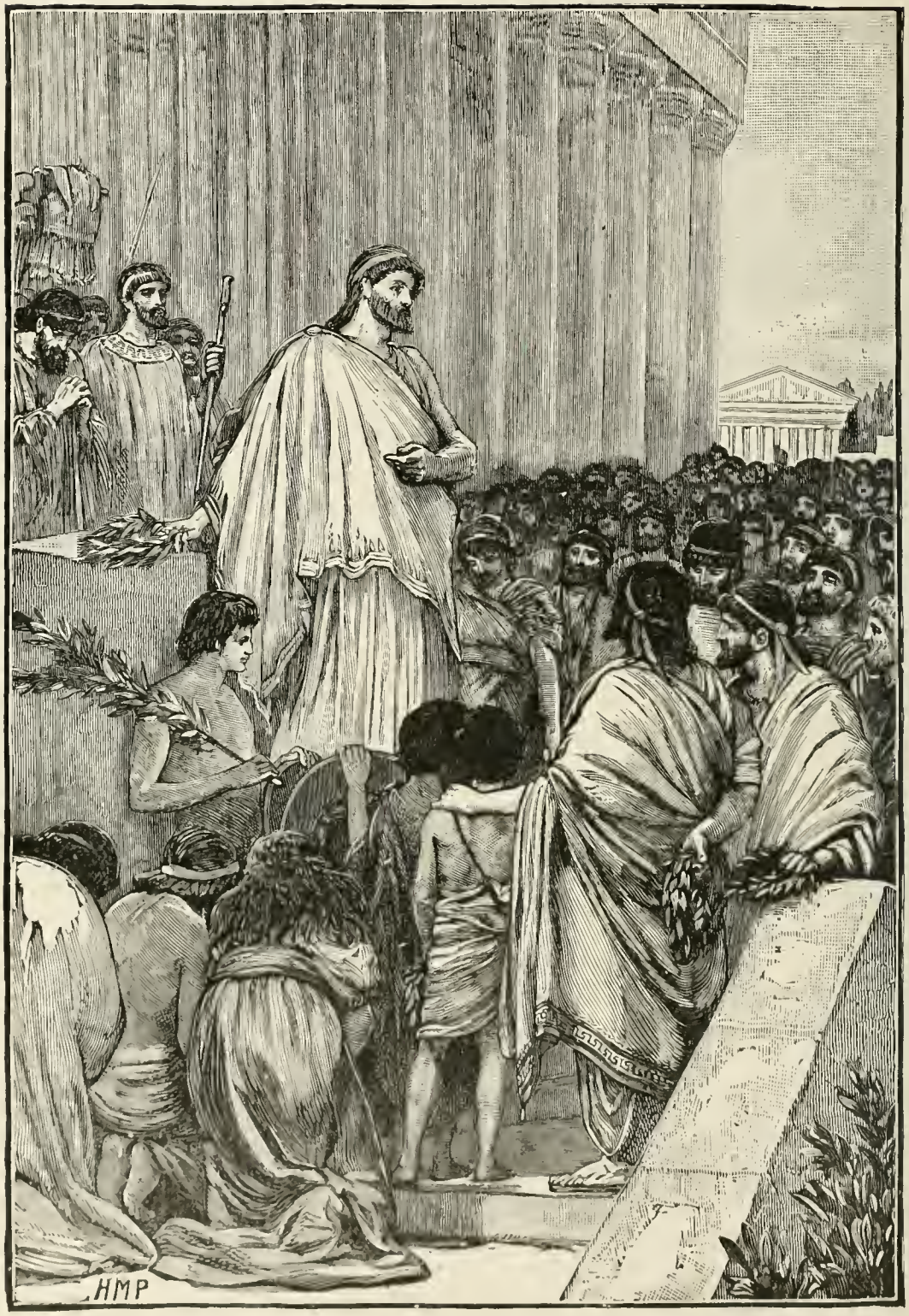
CHAPTER XLIX.—THE HELLENIC TONGUE.

SUCH were the methods and processes by which Greek life was brought to maturity. It was intended to be a maturity of action and beauty—beauty as its subjective, and action as its objective, expression. It is impossible now to enter into the thought of a Greek father and determine precisely to what extent, as he submitted his boy to the gymnasium, he looked upon physical culture as a means of developing the youth himself and to what extent he looked beyond to his usefulness in the state. Both ideas were present. Both influenced his conduct and determined his motives; and if we pass from private to public opinion, we shall find that that also looked first to the beautiful, the strong, in the youth himself and afterwards in the man, but also contemplated the usefulness and fitness of the man as a block in the state.

Ideas underlying the discipline of the Greeks.

But there was also a gymnastic for the tongue and the brain. While the body was brought to perfection through the agency of physical training, the tongue was led into rational and beautiful action by the vehicle of the most excellent speech yet devised by man. The Greek language may be regarded in the light of a mental gymnastic. It was the apparatus for the expression of mental activities which were as vehement in their kind as were the restless energies of the body. We are here to regard the language in the light of an apparatus by which Greek thought found expression and the Greek mind was perfected.

A gymnastic for the brain as well as the body.



PERICLES PRONOUNCING THE FUNERAL ORATION OF THE ATHENIAN SOLDIERS.

It is the part of philosophy rather than of history to determine the relations of brain action, of thought, to oral speech, to language. It is perhaps not yet determined precisely to what extent the one is dependent on the other for its existence, to what extent all thought stands waiting for the word which is to be its vehicle of revelation. We may regard the word as the avatar of the idea. The spoken form is the corporate tangible fact necessary for the expression of the incorporate, intangible essence. It may be fitting to say that ideality in its abstract form may exist in the human mind, or, to use the tangible agent, in the human brain, without the concomitant of words; but that ideality can only be coined into thought through the agency of language. As ideality is resolved into ideas, notions, thoughts, propositions, it passes from the intangible or spiritual condition into the tangible expression and definition of language.

Consideration of the relations of thought and speech.

However this question may be resolved, there can be no doubt that there was a strict correlation between the prodigious energies and beautiful evolutions of the Greek mind and that wonderful language on which the thought of the race was sent abroad into the world. The one was no more varied, excursive, and grand than the other was copious, elastic, and powerful. It is only a truism to say that even the caprices of the Greek mind found satisfactory vent through the caprices of the language. Hellenic thought either found a way of expression or made one. It was almost as easy to make as to find. So vital and new were the Greek tongues in the times of the rapid evolution of the race that all new moods and tenses of the Hellenic mind flowed out on the ever-branching stems of the equivalent speech.

Strict correspondence of the Greek mind and language.

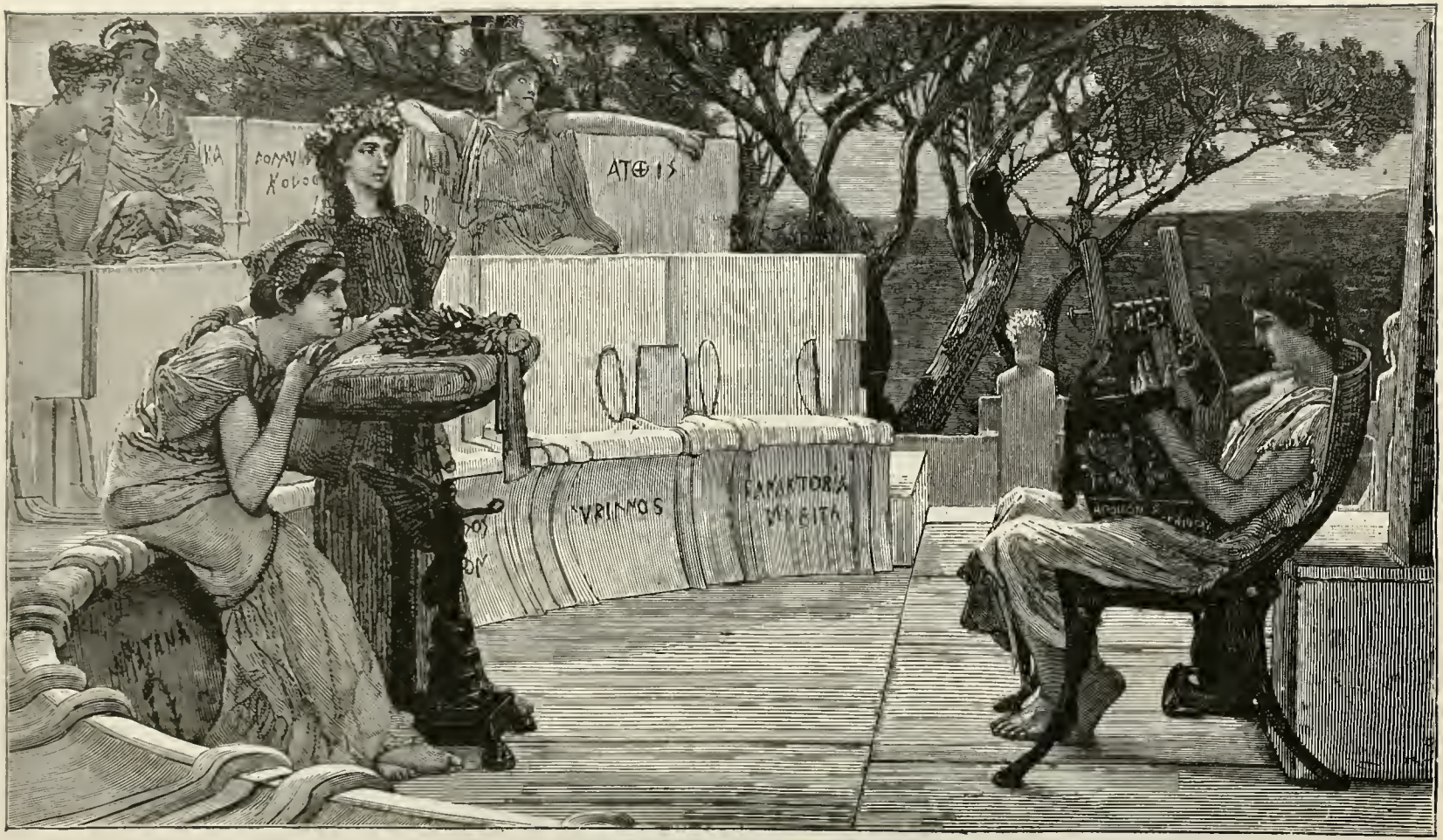
Something has already been said of the dialectical divergencies of Greek as illustrative of the ethnic divisions of the family. We shall now again call up the Hellenic dialects and view them as the means unto the end of development among the different branches of the people. On the incoming of the Hellenes into European Greece the language was still in the growing stage. Much of its structure had been already determined during the ages of migration, but much still remained for expansion and growth before the tongue should reach its perfection in the hands of the Attic historians, poets, and orators.

Rise of the Greek dialects; Æolic the oldest form.

The oldest form, then, in which the Greek language became fixed and determinate was Æolic. It is in evidence that this dialect was spoken by the migrating tribes before the departure of the Hellenes and the Italians. A critical examination of the primitive Latin tongues shows that they still retained in the west many forms and features so nearly identical with Æolic as to demonstrate the original community of the dialects. This identity extends even to the vowels and diphthongs, which are the most shifting and uncertain parts of speech. The poverty of Latin in diphthongs, as compared with Ionic and Doric Greek, has an exact analogy in Æolic; and the sameness in consonantal structure in the two tongues still further strengthens the argument. From Æolic Greek, therefore, we may regard all the other Hellenic dialects as departures and developments.

Close kinship of the Æolic and Old Latin.

Æolic was spoken in four principal dialects. The first was *Lesbian*, which is most characteristic of all, limited to



SAPPHO —After the painting by Alma Tadema, Royal Academy, 1881.

the island of Lesbos, and strongly indicative of the Asiatic origin of the Greeks.

Principal dialectical divergencies of Æolic.

The second variety was *Thessalian*, and doubtfully *Macedonian*, though the latter tongue has never been critically determined in its relations with the languages of the south. The third dialect was *Bœotian*, and the fourth *Elean* and *Arcadian*, the latter belonging to the Peloponnesus. Modern critics have found that the dialects of Elis and Arcadia are rather Doric Greek than Æolic, though the latter may have been the original root. In Lesbos are several inscriptions which still preserve the ancient forms of the language; and the extant fragments of the poems of Alcæus and Sappho furnish literary examples of the same.

One of the striking features of the language as illustrated in these works is the absence of ultimate or final accent. Words which in Ionic and Doric Greek are accented on the last syllable throw back the accent in Æolic, just as in Latin. Another striking peculiarity is the heavy, or baritone, quality of the vowels. What may be called the *high tone* of the Ionic vowels is wanting in Æolic. Another feature is the absence of the rough breathing which was so common in Ionic and Doric words. The digamma, or *vav*, which, on account of its heavy character, dropped out of classical Greek, was retained in Æolic, especially in the Bœotian dialect—another example of the strong affinity of Æolic and Latin. The short *e* and the short *o* of Greek were originally represented by *a* in Æolic, furnishing a good example of what is called the "dulling" of vowel sounds. The vowel *alpha* also appeared in many words where long *e* (*η*) took its place in Ionic. In short, it is evident that Æolic Greek had *alpha* for its primary vowel sound, the evolution not having proceeded far enough to include the wide range of vocalic utterance exhibited in the South Greek dialects.

Low tone and other peculiarities of this form of Greek.

The language of the Bœotians is but little known, and that only from inscriptions. The few specimens that have been preserved are also inflected with Ionic words and constructions. Though it is clear that the Bœotian language was deduced from the Æolic stem, it nevertheless had much in common with Ionic Greek. The accent was not thrown back as in Æolic. The Bœotians, instead of rejecting the rough breathing, had a fondness for its use. They also sympathized with the southern forms of speech in preserving the ancient *tau* (*τ*) instead of employing *sigma* (*σ*), as did the Æolians. In other peculiarities also it is evident that the transformation toward the Ionic forms of speech was going on among the Bœotian tribes. In an age of free growth it could but happen that the neighboring clans would assimilate each from the other the forms of speech which they used in intercourse. All the dialects in Greece were shaded off at the margin into the tongues of the adjacent peoples.

Characteristics of the Bœotian tongue.

As already said, the original languages of Elis and Arcadia have been much discussed as to their stem connections. In this country the intermingling of forms was between Æolic and Doric dialects. Some modern scholars have been of the opinion that the languages of these two Peloponnessian states are essentially Dorian, and that the notion hitherto existing of an Æolian origin is to be wholly rejected. This change of view would extend also to the Greek tongue of Cyprus. It is certain that the colonists of this island were

Elean and Arcadian dialects of Æolic.

Etruscan.		Greek.		Coptic.		Arabic.		Ethiopic and Amharic.	
A A A	a	A α	a	Ⲁ ⲁ	a	ا	a	ሀ	h
B	b	B β	b	Ⲃ ⲃ	b,v	ب	b	ለ	l
C K K	k,g	Γ γ	g	Ⲅ ⲅ	g	ت	t	ሐ	hh
⊢ ⊢	t,d	Δ δ	d	Ⲇ ⲇ	d	ث	thin	መ	m
E E E	e	E ε	ĕ	Ⲉ ⲉ	ĕ	ج	dj	ሠ	s
8	f			Ⲋ ⲋ	f	ح	h	ረ	r
I ↑		Z ζ	z	Ⲍ ⲍ	z	خ	kh	ሰ	s
B	h	H η	ē	Ⲏ ⲏ	ei	د	d	ሸ	sh
		Θ θ	th	Ⲑ ⲑ	th	ذ	then	ቀ	k
I	i	I ι	i	Ⲓ ⲓ	i	ر	r	በ	b
		K κ	k c	Ⲕ ⲕ	k	ز	z	ተ	th
⅃	l	Λ λ	l	Ⲗ ⲗ	l	س	s	ቸ	tj
M M M M	m	M μ	m	Ⲙ ⲙ	m	ش	sh	ኀ	kh
N N N N	n	N ν	u	Ⲛ ⲛ	n	ص	sç	ነ	n
⊼	s	Ξ ξ	x	Ⲝ ⲝ	x	ض	dd	ኘ	gn
O	o	O o	ŏ	Ⲟ ⲟ	ŏ	ط	t	አ	a
⅂ ⅂ ⅂	p,b	Π π	p	Ⲡ ⲡ	p,b	ظ	tz	ከ	k
						ع	...	ኸ	ch
						غ	gh	ወ	v
ᑭ ᑭ ᑭ	r	P ρ	r	Ⲣ ⲣ	r	ف	f	ዐ	a
Ƨ	s	Σ σ ς	s	Ⲥ ⲥ Ⲥ ⲥ	s	ق	k	ዘ	z
		T τ	t	Ⲧ ⲧ ⲧ	t,ti,d	ك	kh	ዠ	j
V Y	u v	Υ υ	u	Ⲩ ⲩ	i,y,ŭ	ل	l	የ	y
		Φ φ	ph	Ⲫ ⲫ	ph	م	m	ደ	d
		Χ χ	ch	Ⲭ ⲭ	ch	ن	n	ጀ	dj
		Ψ ψ	ps	Ⲯ ⲯ	ps	ه ة	h	ገ	g
		Ω ω	ō	Ⲱ ⲱ	ō	و	w	ጠ	t
				Ϫ ϫ	g	ى	y	ጨ	tsch
				Ϭ ϭ	sk			ጰ	p
				Ϯ ϯ	sh			ጸ	tz
				Ϩ ϩ	h			ፀ	z
				Ϧ ϧ	kh			ፈ	f
								ፐ	p

The characters which belong only to the Amharic alphabet are marked with an asterisk.

ANCIENT GREEK AND RELATED ALPHABETS.

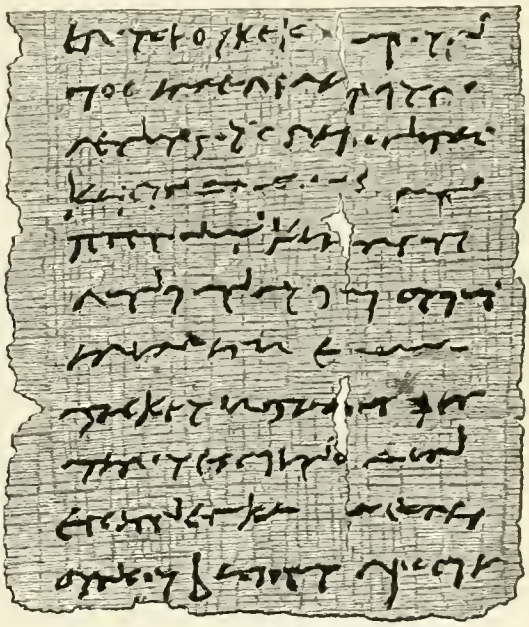
in part Arcadians. The fact that the inscriptions of Cyprus are not written in the Greek alphabet has greatly embarrassed antiquarian research, and made a decision respecting the Cyprian language exceedingly difficult. On the whole, the dialects of Æolic, or the language itself considered in its entirety, must be regarded as the least important of all varieties of Greek.

The second general branch of the Hellenic languages was Doric. It has two aspects, an older and a more recent form. The first sympathizes with Æolic in its construction and vocabulary, and the second with Ionic Greek. The older form covers the original tongues of Laconia, Crete, Cyrene, and the Greek colonies in Southern Italy. The more recent Doric embraces the languages of Argolis, Messenia, and Megara, of the Dorian countries in Northern Greece, and of the colonies belonging to the Greek race in Asia Minor and Sicily. The fundamental difference between the older and the more recent variety of Doric is the use in the former of *omega* (ω) and *eta* (η) instead of the softened diphthongs *ou* (ου) and *ei* (ει) in the milder dialect. There were also other vocalic differences between the two forms of speech and some consonantal discrepancies.

Ethnic and geographical limits of Doric Greek.

The ancient language of the *Laconians*, or Spartans, is known to us from inscriptions and from fragments of the folk speech preserved in the comedies of Aristophanes. Thucydides gives a single treaty recorded in the Spartan dialect. The sculptured tablets of Heraclea, found at Tarentum, in Southern Italy, and preserved in the museum of Naples, also present specimens of the old Laconian language. Other inscriptions have been recovered from the island of Crete, embracing certain ancient treaties between the towns of the island. At Olympia a helmet and several inscriptions have been found containing the old *Argolic* dialect. Some interesting tablets from Messenia have been recovered on which were carved the doctrine of certain of the gods; but in these inscriptions the language is found to be of a later date (about 90 B. C.). The dialect spoken in Corinth has been recovered in part from inscriptions at Cor-

Fragments of Laconian preserved in treaties.



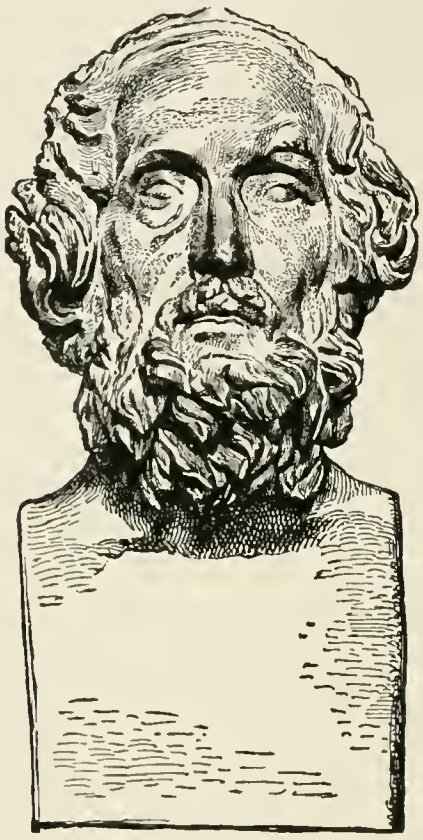
FACSIMILE OF ANCIENT GREEK MANUSCRIPT.
From Lord Strangford's papyri, British Museum.

cyra and Syracuse; and a few examples of the Locrian language, also Doric in its origin, have been obtained from a bronze tablet on which are written the terms of an ancient treaty.

The Doric language as distinguished from Ionic was a slow, emphatic form of speech, more suitable for the brief conversation of warriors than for the discourse of philosophers, the measures of poets, or orations from the bema. It was a serious language, having little of the lightness and airy structure of the

Distinctions between Doric and Ionic forms of speech.

Ionic in its later developments. It might be called the Anglo-Saxon stage of Attic Greek. It must not be understood, however, that the difference between the brief and severe forms of Doric and the elegant and easy inflec-



HOMER.
Drawn by E. von Liphart.

tions of Ionic were differences in age of development more than a difference in the genius of the two dialects. All of the roughness, the laconic demeanor, the austerity, and uncurbed force of the mountaineers of Lacedæmon are reflected in the dialect which they spoke. The one is as the other—the tone of the language is a reflection of the character of the people.

There were several specific features of Doric Greek by which the tongue was discriminated in practice from Ionic. The language was much more *oxytone*, to use the grammatical term, than was the speech of the Ionians; that is, the Doric accents were lifted from grave to acute and thrust forward to the more advanced syllables of the words, thus giving a sort of sharpness, almost a shriek, to the utterance of the language—a peculiarity which the Ionians in their speech sought to avoid. In addition to this, the Dorians retained the old, heavy digamma, or *vav* (*F*), long after it had disappeared from the politer forms of Greek. In the old Laconian, Argolian, and Corinthian inscriptions the *vav* appears in nearly every case in which we find a *v* in the corresponding Latin words. Besides this, the Dorians were fond of doubling their consonants in cases where the Ionians used only a single letter; for example, *hessos* (ἔσσος) for hesos (ἔσος); messos (μέσσος) for mesos (μέσος), etc. This peculiarity put strength and energy into the middle of the word instead of lightness and activity. Still again, it was the Dorian usage to employ the ancient guttural *koppa* (ϙ) in preference to the recent and delicate *kappa* (κ) or any other smooth equivalent. Thus in Doric we have *ϙorinthoi* instead of *Corinthoi*, etc. The foregoing peculiarities were sufficient to make a strong contrast between the languages of the Spartans and the Athenians even to the time when the shadow of Rome impended over both.

Oxytone character and archaic forms of Doric.

The great language of the Greeks was the Ionic, in its several stages of growth. The Old Ionic was the dialect of the epic poets, the language of Homer and the Cyclic bards. The New Ionic was the second stage of literary development, and is represented in the pages of Herodotus and Hippocrates;

Historical development of Ionic Greek.

while the third evolution, or Attic, gave to the world the great literary productions of classical Greece. The Attic dialect was itself subdivided into three stages of growth, the Old, the Middle, and the New. It was in the New Attic that the Greek language reached its final leafage and efflorescence in the graceful forms and delicate peculiarities which were cultivated at the high noon of Athenian splendor.

Stages from the pre-Homeric to the post-Attic speech.

We must bear in mind, however, that here again exact lines of division hinder as much as they help a clear understanding of the actual growth of the Greek language from its pre-Homeric origin to its post-Attic decline. This is to say that the progress from the old, or epic, tongue into the language of Herodotus was *gradual*. In the pages of Homer there are many forms of expression which the bard had gathered from the archaïc and extinct forms of speech; and there are also hints of the new forms which the Father of History was afterwards to reduce to system and regularity. So also in the transformation of Herodotean Greek into Attic—there was never a break; but at certain times slight modifications grew into serious changes. Old forms were abandoned and new forms adopted until, quite unawares—though after the lapse of some generations—a dialect distinct from the preceding had arisen. All the way down the process is one of gradual transformation and growth, involving the substitution of more elegant and highly inflected forms of expression for the archaisms of the older poets.

It is not our purpose to enter into a review of the language of Homer or Herodotus or Thucydides or any other Greek author representative of a stage in linguistic development. We here look upon the language simply in process of transformation, and as a vehicle and instrument of the race evolution of the Greeks. One thing must be understood before the reader may apprehend the peculiar effect of their speech upon the Hellenes themselves. Of all men, only the Greek has been *conscious* of his language. It is the most striking feature of the linguistic history of mankind. The son of Hellen was all the time conscious of the form in which his speech was given forth, and was in the last degree particular as to the accuracy and beauty of his expression. In this respect he differs from every type of man who has simply given forth his utterance unconsciously.

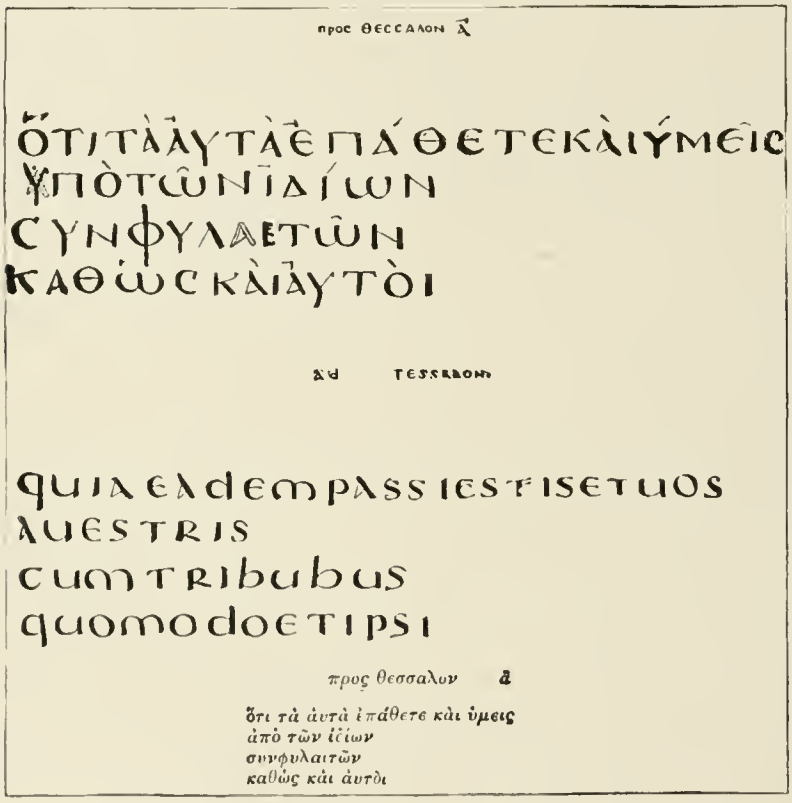
Peculiar consciousness of the Greeks respecting language.

As a rule, the mind is confused with the double process of thinking and speaking if both be consciously performed; but the Greek not only carried forward both processes at once—the subjective union of concepts and the objective forms of utterance—but at the same time he hung about every part of his speech the flowers and leafage of his imagination. We here speak of Ionic Greek, of the perfected Attic language as it was spoken and written in the days of its splendor.

Of his native tongue the Greek was as proud as he was of his descent from Hellen or even from the gods. His language was the one fundamental distinction between him and the barbarians. He called them *Barbaroi* because of their jargon—because they *jabbered* and could not speak, at least with Hellenic elegance. He sought perfection in his words, in his manner of utterance, and in every detail of expression. Dissonance was avoided as something odious; and to misplace an accent was a greater

Pride of the Greeks in attaining perfection of speech.

crime than to violate a treaty. Not only did the scholars, the learned, and élite of the Ionians thus cultivate the delicacies and perfections of their language; but the very rabble, the democracy, the shopkeepers, the marketers, and *vulgus profanum* of the agora emulated the dialectical purity of their superiors, and spoke Greek even as they. It is narrated that when a great oration was spoken from the pnyx, the very fishwomen would cry out in derision if the orator mispronounced or misaccented a single word. It was a linguistic pride, a parallel for which we should seek in vain among the characteristics of any other people.



SPECIMENS OF OLD AND LATER GREEK.

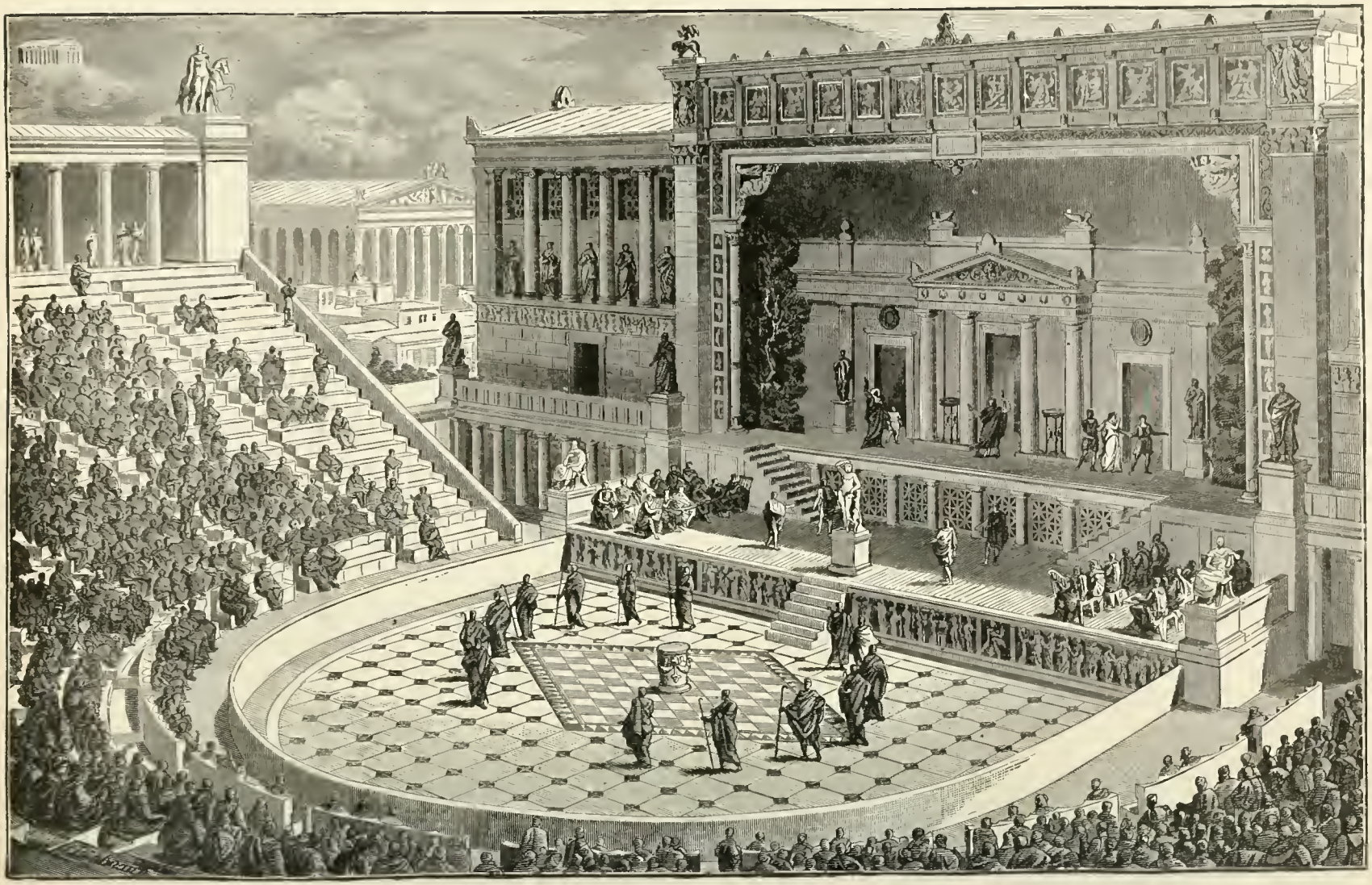
The Greek language was perfected in all of its parts. The orthography was reduced to regularity. The accentuation and intonation were far purer and more exact than we should find in the language of any modern people. The quality of the vowels was very musical. In a certain sense the language was *chanted*. The sharp and piping sound of Latin, traceable to the large use of the vowels *i* and *u*, was avoided in Greek. The prevalent vocalic elements were alpha (*α*), omicron (*ο*), epsilon (*ε*).

Regularity and purity of the language.

The assimilation of the consonants gave euphony and ease of utterance; and the freedom of syntactical disposition enabled the speaker or writer to arrange his period or verse with reference to the highest harmony. The variety of diphthongs gave a pleasing vicissitude of vowel sound (*ου, αυ, αι, ει, υι*), while the careful observation of the quantity of the vowels made the language as rhythmic and billowy as a chant.

The Greek vocabulary was extremely copious. It was not so much an abundance of roots — though in this respect the Greek tongue was richer than any cognate dialect— but rather in the multiplicity of inflections. The words grew into many forms expressive of the diverse ideas which hovered about a given notion or thought. The law of growth was so free and the evolution of new forms so natural and varied that the vocabulary expanded as freely as the thought of the people. Herodian is said

Copiousness of the Greek vocabulary; the accents.



THEATER OF DIONYSUS, AT ATHENS.—Drawn by J. Buhlmann, after recent excavations
To the left, seats for spectators and part of the colonnade: in foreground, orchestra, proscenium, stage.

to have fixed the accents in accordance with the linguistic law and usage of his age on sixty thousand Greek words, this, too, in an age when no technical science had demanded its additional stock of terms. This vast verbal development had been produced exclusively by the lively fancy, the vivid imagination, and the profound reasoning of the Greek mind, which happily found or created for itself a vehicle of speech as copious and ornamental as the thought of the race was vast and efflorescent.

Should we descend into the details of the Greek language, we should be struck in the first place with the completeness and beauty of the verb. It would perhaps be difficult to invent any form of action which was not susceptible of expression by the verb of the Greek. The law of formation for the various moods and tenses was wellnigh perfect in its kind. The three general divisions of time were carefully discriminated; and in the past the distinction between Aorist, Imperfect, and Perfect was precisely marked. The so-called grammatical Voice had all three divisions, Active, Middle, and Passive. If the Middle voice was not so fully employed in practice as the other two, it was doubtless equal to all demands for the peculiar reflective action which it was designed to express. The three persons blossomed out in full endings, as did also the three numbers, in both cases to indicate the relations of the action to the character of the subject. If the old dual number of the primitive Aryan speech had almost disappeared from the Greek, it was because the discerning experiences of the race had shown the inutility of such a distinction. Through the whole development of a given verb, through all of its augments, reduplications, changing stems, and waving terminations, the vital root idea rose and expanded as if it were the heart of a branching tree, in whose boughs sat all the winged creatures of thought.

Completeness and beauty of verbal development.

It was the peculiarity of Greek that it was able to express the most refined and delicate modifications in the ideas and thought of the sentence. To this end the so-called *modifiers*, particularly the adjectives, had an expansion altogether in excess of that presented by any other European language, ancient or modern. The adjective took its station by the side of the noun, assumed its terminations, sought its likeness, and conformed to its methods of development; but it far outblossomed any mere noun. It sprang out into three numbers, three genders, five cases, and three degrees of comparison, each marked by its own variation in adjectival structure. The whole organism presented no fewer than one hundred and thirty-five inflections —a thing marvelous in the history of human speech. Even the stoical and inert adverb shared in the common leafage and put out terminations like a thing of life. Verb, noun, pronoun, adjective, adverb, all rejoiced in growth and expansion, the outputting of branches, the evolution of living leaves. Through all this the breezes blew, and the whole organic structure trembled as the thing thought rose vitally into the tree of speech and became visible in the flowers and foliage. Even the remotest twigs of this vital and beautiful organic whole quivered with the life which was common to all. The Greek particles, those infinitesimal toyships of language which have been the puzzle and provocation of all translators in all countries—hung up, as it were, at the tip ends and on the finest filaments of Greek thought—swayed to

Delicacy of the modifying elements; the particles.

and fro under the stress of expression, and performed their pleasing part in unison with the more magisterial organs of the language.

Perspicacity of Greek; difficulties of perfect expression.

The perspicacity of Greek was as marked a feature of the language as its delicacy of expression. Whoever has much handled the implement of human speech and has observed with care the difficulties and perplexities with which the exact expression of thought by means of words and constructions is embarrassed, will have discovered that perfect precision, perfect correlation between the thought and the verbal form, is unattainable in any living language. How great are the imperfections of speech in this respect will not be readily apprehended by any who have not striven for exactitude in the use of language; for strive as we may, perfect precision can never be attained.

The vehicle of the comparatively grammarless tongues in use by the modern nations is not sufficiently elastic to conform perfectly to the details and niceties of thought. As a result, there is in the best books of modern literature a prodigious amount of blundering in the language. The insufficiency of every modern tongue to express with perfection the conceptions of great or even middle minds is painful to one whose sensibilities on this subject have not been dulled by the poverty and rudeness of his own language.

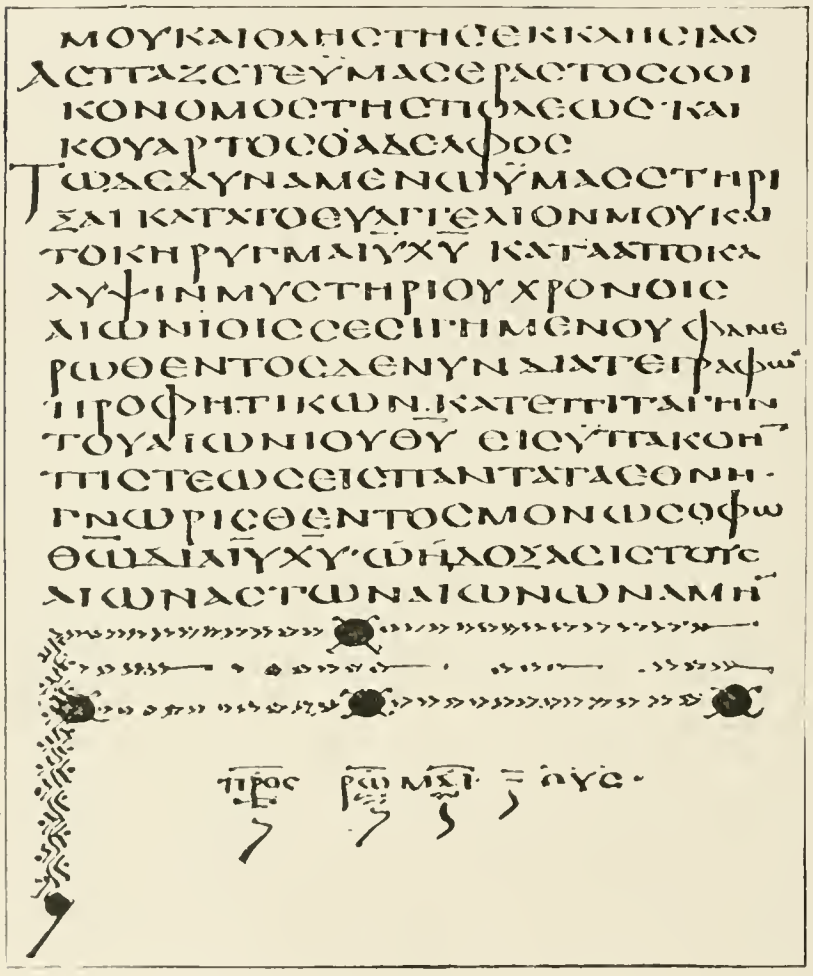
Blundering in Attic Greek well-nigh impossible.

In Greek all of this evil disappears. It is really marvelous to note the exact and perfect transcript of thought which may be effected in the better forms of Greek. In pure Attic, for instance, all blundering or departure from the accurate delineation of the thinker's ideas is not only inexcusable, but is superficially manifested in the language itself. Any blunder or want of perfect accord is immediately shown by a flaw in the construction as manifest to the eye as would be a scar from a hatchet on a piece of cabinet work. The language *fits* in all its parts, and the surface, though it palpitates and heaves under the living impulses within, is as smooth as well adjusted plumage or the fur of a seal.

All error revealed in the form of the expression.

A ruffle on the exterior of Greek is a mistake, a wound. The language is incapable of hiding an error. All that unconscious ambiguity and unintentional equivocation which so abound in the best modern literature disappear from Greek like impurities from quicksilver. They are squeezed out of the living fluid which shines and sparkles and is clean and perfect even in the dirt. In the best days of Greek the language had risen to an organic and spiritual purity which it was impossible to defile. The details of the language, even its smallest particles, stood like sentinels to prevent the intrusion of obscurity, the touch and pollution even of the small dust of corruption. The Greek articles were so adjusted as to compel the perspicuity of every phrase and clause. "The doors of the houses are closed," says our sturdy English speech, and the meaning is clear; but if echo takes up the last three words, saying "houses are closed," the meaning of the original sentence is falsified with the final words of its own utterance. "The sons of the dead veterans we saw marching," says our own strong tongue, and echo cries out "dead veterans we saw marching," as if we had beheld their ghosts. But such mockeries out of echoland can never arise from Greek. Greek says, "The of the houses doors are closed;" and echo repeats "doors are closed,"

thus verifying instead of contradicting our utterance. Greek says, "The of the dead veterans sons we saw marching," and echo repeats "sons we saw marching." The ghosts have disappeared; for in Greek no ghost, no shadow, no bantering of a double sense was possible.



FACSIMILE OF ANCIENT GREEK MANUSCRIPT.

Here was a compactness of structure for which we should look in vain in any other speech. Let us not think, however, that the unmistakable sense so admirably woven into these words of the Hellenes depended for its perfection upon mere compactness. On the contrary, the Greek sentence is plastic. It may be worked like wax, and still the integrity of thought be preserved. It may be attenuated—drawn out until its clauses are anatomically displaced and almost disjointed—until only the thin ligaments of sentential structure hold together the displaced and tortured organs. Still it lives; still it is the same; still the thought is as whole and unmistakable in form and feature as it was before the sentence was stretched upon the wheel. If a bit of Greek thus tortured into fantastic form be translated into another language, and the syntactical shape of the original be followed or imitated, the translation will be a monster in linguistic physiology. "Give not that which is holy unto the dogs, neither cast ye your pearls before swine, *lest they trample them under their feet, and turn again and rend you.*" Thus saith the English rendering, but what saith the Greek? *Which* beasts are to turn and rend you? Is it the *swine* or the *dogs?* Which of them trample the pearls under their feet? In Greek, the italic clause, though so far detached, answers the dogs, *only*, turn again and rend you; the swine, *only*, trample the

Capacity of Greek for attenuation and displacement.

pearls under their feet. There is no confusion expressed and none possible, no ambiguity or hint of equivocation. So long as the parts of the sentence hang together, even by the finest filament, the integrity of the whole is preserved.

Intensity of Greek secured by repeating root words.

The intensity of the Greek language was another peculiarity for which we find no parallel. Many ideas slightly variant were expressed by words derived from a common stem, and this common element, echoing through the sentence, intensified the thought to the close. The suggestion of the first word was accented in the second, emphasized in the third, and sent reverberating through all the remainder. The very thing which is so studiously avoided in modern languages, namely, the tautology of sound, was carefully cultivated in Greek. There it was not tautology, but an increasing stress laid upon the thought in the process of its development.

Examples and significance of syllabic tautology.

To the ear only slightly attuned to the harmonies of Greek, an echo is ever present of the idea at first suggested in the subject of the sentence; and of this echo the resonance remains to the close of the paragraph; and as the mind follows the evolution from page to page, there is still a distant murmur caught far off from the horizon of the first suggestion of the theme. "Hŏ *thēr*eutēs ta *thēr*ia *thēr*euei," says the Greek, which our diversified language renders thus: "The hunter pursues the wild beasts." But the fine tautological original runs thus: "The wildbeaster wildbeasts the wildbeasts."[1] Mark the echo. Again the Greek: "Hŏ *poi*ētēs tēn *poi*ēsin *poi*ei;" that is, in English, "The bard creates poesy;" but in Greek, "The maker makes the making;" or, "The poet poets the poesy," or, "The singer sings the singing." In the thirty-second chapter of the *Gorgias* one of the answers of Socrates to Polos is as follows: Toiôuton *tmē*ma *tĕm*nĕtai tŏ *tĕm*nómĕnon hôion tŏ *tĕm*non *tĕm*nei; that is, in an English imitation: "The thing cut is cut such-a-cut-as the thing cutting cuts;" or, "That which is cut is cut such a cut as that which cuts, cuts." Or, as we should say in plain idiom, "The gash in a thing is the shape of the blade that cuts it." Nor is there the slightest sign that Socrates is playing with his words. Polos answers seriously, *Phaínetai*, "so it appears." The big brain of the master is simply refining upon a thought, and his speech bears him naturally, inevitably, into the repetition of the root idea expressed in the syllable *tĕm*. Echo will have it so. It were not elegant Greek unless the creative thought expressed in the first root should roll along the sentence, swelling in intensity to the final cadence.

What may be called the expansibility of Greek was another noted feature. While on the one hand the language was capable of indefinite compression until even a single small word, by its suggestion, could wellnigh contain an epic, on the other hand a word might be evolved of intolerable length, whose meaning would be summarized—but not expressed—in a modern language by a mere monosyllable.

Power of condensation and expansion illustrated.

The Greeks, especially the Dorians, were fond of employing compressed and abbreviated expressions, merely suggestive of the thought or thoughts which they wished to utter. Words and mottoes were frequently engraved on porches, over the entrance to oracles, and in other significant places, so brief as to be enigmatical, but still pregnant

[1] Literally: The *deer*man *deers* the *deers*.

with the weightiest suggestions. One of the words thus frequently employed was the Greek for *if* (εἰ). The variety of senses that might be extracted from this potent hypothetical particle illustrated at once a disposition of the people and a capacity in their language. The ambassadors of Philip came down into Peloponnesus to the stubborn Spartans, threatening destruction for their contumacy. "*If* the Lacedemonians did not immediately submit to Philip; if they did not cease to deal doubly with him; if they did not at once send the usual tokens of earth and water as evidences of their submission, Philip would send an army against them, overwhelm them with his power, and blot the city from existence." The Spartan ephors sat upon this important message, and returned the following answer:

Εἰ—*if!*

Such was the spirit which gave to the term *Laconic* its peculiar significance. On the other hand, we see the Attic Aristophanes, uproarious in his satire, coining with entire freedom and in perfect accordance with Greek composition a single word to express all the articles of fish, flesh, and fowl which were served on the tables of the Greeks. Nor was there anything linguistically absurd in his ponderous term, Lepadotemachoselachogaleokranioleipsanodrimypotrimmatosilphioparaomelitokatakechymenokichlepikossyphophattoperisteralektryonoptengkephalokingklopeleiolagoosiraiobaphetraganopterygon—*Hush!*

Still another beauty of Greek was its harmony. Without doubt, it was one of the most musical tongues ever employed by men. This is not said merely of its limpid and vocalic sweetness. The music of Greek was not the music of Italian. The harmony of the vowel sounds, tender almost as the notes of an Æolian harp, was built upon a harmony of consonantal structure which became stronger and stronger at the base. It was the music of Wagner or of Liszt, as powerful in its lower parts as it was sweet in its highest register.

Harmonious utterance and structure of Greek.

Of course the different dialects varied in the quality of harmony, Æolic being the roughest of all and Ionic the most melodious. It has been thought that the Greek spoken in the islands of the Ægean was the softest of all, having a preponderance of vowels, and being less wind-shaken with consonantal stridor than were the mountain dialects of the interior. Sometimes the Greek word was wrought out like a sigh, having both its terminations in the softest vowel elements. Thus the Ionic word meaning "forever" was *acikaiai*. On the other hand, the Greek consonants when heaped together, as they many times were, gave to the opposite extreme of the language all the force and vehemence of German. *Phthismos*, as it well might be, was a "wheezing sound;" and *Chronou phthongos* was the "voice of Saturn." There was thus from right to left and from left to right of the great Greek diapason of speech an extent and variety far exceeding that presented on the keyboard of any other linguistic instrument ever invented by man.

Vocalic sweetness combined with consonantal strength.

Even in the earliest ages of Greek literature the harmonious quality of the language came out in full force. Homer knew it as the day knows the clouds and the landscape. Never was such another vehicle of musical rhythm invented in this poor sphere as the old bard's billowy hexameters. It is not the place to illustrate in a scholastic way the harmony and pulse beat of the Homeric verse

Beauty and resonance of the Homeric hexameters.

It has in it all of the sounds and music of the natural world, its mirth and its sorrow, its whisper and its outcry, its sympathy and its dolor. To the end of time and to the remotest corners of the earth the ear of youth will quicken with delight with those immortal endings down which the cadence of the hexameters falls into silence—*hos mala polla; epeita thea glaucopis Athena; polyphloisboia thalassēs.*

The Greek nomenclature was picturesque in the last degree. The commonest of common nouns were in a sense poetical. The animals of the hills and plains were all named out of some quick conceit of their leading attributes. The Greek mind discovered the most striking feature of everything alive, and with the discovery named the object according to this feature. The huge bear of the Pindus gorges was called *ho arctos*, "the bow," for his back was bent up like a bow!

How Ursa Major became a constellation.

And whoever is curious in such things may here discover the beginnings of that process by which the constellations of heaven were given the names of animals. The supposition that the groups of stars have resemblance to the creatures for which they are named is a mere conceit. It was a freak of language which transferred the animals of the earth to the arch of heaven. The Greek, with his quick discovery of analogies, called the bend of the Great Dipper, *ho arctos*, "the bow." He also called the huge beast with the bent-up back "the bow," *ho arctos.* In after times when it was found that the Dipper was called *arctos*, the undiscerning thought of the discoverer concluded that it meant *the bear!* Presto, ursus was translated from earth to heaven! As a matter of fact, the name *arctos* had been twice conferred by the quick Greek mind, once on an earthly and once on a heavenly object, and the duller mind of posterity could not discover the double reference! Hence we have no constellation of the Bow, and Ursa Major still growls at the North Star. Our little gray squirrel is the mediæval *sciurella*, from the Greek *scioura;* that is, "the little shadetail," from *scios*, "a shadow;" *oura*, "a tail," and *ella*, the Italic diminutive. He was the little fellow who used his tail for a sunshade!

Rising into the realm of proper names, the picturesqueness of the language becomes still more striking. The names of men and women were all highly significant. Never would a Greek have given to one of his children a merely senseless epithet to discriminate him from the rest, as if he were a piece of merchandise and his name *a tag.* On the contrary, some vivid picture arose of the circumstances of birth, of the hope and expectancy of father or mother, of promise or possible unpromise in the child himself; and out of these circumstances a poem of one word was composed and given to him for life.

Significance and poetry of the Greek proper names.

Every Greek was as to his name a living poem. Whenever he was addressed the poem was repeated, and even in the clangor and fury of the agora we may hear the perpetual rhythm of the poetical names by which the Greeks were known. Homeros is the Blind; Alexandros is the Mandefender; Andromache is the Manbattle, and Penelope the Woofmaker. All the way up, from the names of insects to the names of gods, from the names of grass blades and flowers to the names of the eternal stars, the same vivid and poetical concepts and creative abundance of the Greek mind and tongue are exhibited.

Thus far nothing has been said of the introduction of the Greek alphabet and the development of literary expression. As a general fact, the history of writing has its further extremity in shadow and doubt. It is not probable that the actual beginning of the art of writing as it has been practiced by any people, ancient or modern, can ever be discovered. The art begins in obscurity, and is brought up to regularity and effectiveness at the same time that the nation is becoming conscious. The first efforts at writing take place in the unconscious infancy of peoples, into which the light of memory can never reach.

The Greek alphabet and the myth of Cadmus.

The story of the introduction of the Greek alphabet by Cadmus is now remanded to its place among the other myths and legends of the dawn. It is not likely that the knowledge of writing was brought in from Phœnicia or from any other foreign land. Nations do not thus export and import their arts. Cadmus in all probability was himself a primitive Greek. His name means *order*, and he belongs to that mythical period when the chaotic elements of tribal life were giving place to the settled conditions of nationality. He may have been a great leader in the work of reducing the language of the primitive Hellenic tribes to regularity and a written form; but it was many ages before the rude methods of the beginning gave place to the elegant pictorial transcript of Greek thought which the Attic poets and historians were able to produce.

CHAPTER L.—ARTS OF THE GREEKS.

HERE then we are in the morning twilight of the rising arts. Having considered the means which were employed for the development and perfection of Greek life, we may now consider some of its primary manifestations in the production of artistic forms. Doubtless the earliest endeavor of man after he has emerged from barbarism and built for himself a house lies in the direction of adorning his abode. The first addition to the mere structure which houses him from the elements is the token and promise of the whole architectural evolution.

Here may be drawn the line between the necessitous and the æsthetic development of the race. At the first the work is unconsciously done. Perhaps the birds and beasts never use ornamentation. They rise to the level of artisans, but not to the level of artists. A single step beyond, the building powers of the animals would enter the domain of fancy and proceed to ornamentation. Man does, before he is fully conscious, enter the imaginative stage of creation. The forms which he henceforth produces are partly real and partly ideal; and as he progresses toward the light the ideality of his work becomes more and more dominant over the reality until it reaches the limit of pure art.

Desire for the ornamentation of structure limited to man.

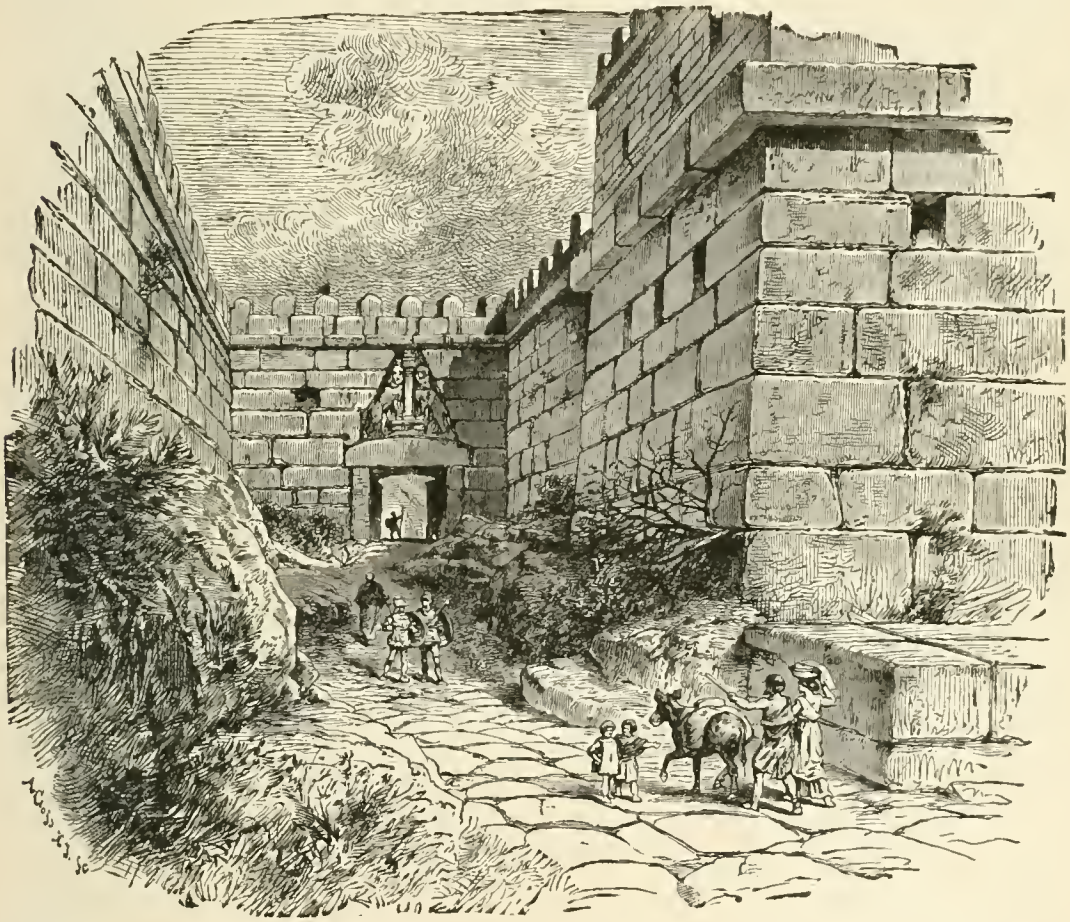
In the shadowy pre-Homeric age Greece had already become great in building. We have had occasion in a former book to speak of the massive ruins left behind by the Pelasgians in South-

Greek architecture of the legendary age.

ern Greece. These remains belong to a legendary age of which the Greeks of Homer knew nothing except by tradition. Nor are we able to discover in the Cyclopean walls of Tiryns or in the Gate of the Lions at Mycenæ even the preliminary aspects of Greek art such as it became in the times of Athenian glory; but the Pelasgic Aryans were not really a primitive people, and their art was not a primitive art. They belonged evidently to an age of power and progress. However dimly seen that age may be, it nevertheless existed; and it is no matter of wonder that the Greeks looked with admiration and astonishment upon the relics of what to them, as well as to us, was a prehistoric epoch.

We may safely assert that this old first art of the Greek race—if indeed the Pelasgians were Greeks—fell into disuse and decadence during the heroic convulsions of the Trojan Wars. It is evident that whatever may have been the impulse which carried the Greeks back into Asia on hostile excursions, it drew away from both Peloponnesus and Northern Hellas the energies of the rising states, and for a while paralyzed the artistic as well as the industrial progress of the race. There is a great break between the Homeric age and the real rise of that artistic spirit which prevailed during the classical ages. We may assume that the genius of the people was now

Artistic gap between Homeric age and the Persian wars.



BEGINNINGS OF GREEK ARCHITECTURE.—Gate of the Lions, at Mycenæ, Restored.—Drawn by J. Hoffman.

ripe for an æsthetic development, and that the mighty shock of the Persian wars was the exciting cause of that ar-

KARYATID OF A GREEK TEMPLE.
Drawn by L. Otto

tistic display which has made the age memorable through all time.

Never was a small land so pressed with the shoulders of a coming avalanche as was Greece under the impact of the Persian invasion. Never was such excitement aroused, such vigor displayed in defense. The situation was of a kind to revive all the old superstitions and portents which had been accepted in the primitive ages. Out of the shadows of the past the forms of helmeted gods were seen again as in the days of the Trojan War. The powers on high coöperated with the powers below, and when the torrent of destruction was stayed—when the foe was rolled back from Marathon, Platæa, and Salamis—the heart of the Greeks broke out in joy and thankfulness.

Effects of the Persian invasion and the deliverance of Hellas.

It was a religious revival as well as a baptism of patriotic fire. Here we may find the origin of the temple-building age. The gods must be honored as well as the heroes, and more than the heroes; for the gods were great and immortal. The first splendid forthshowing of Greek architectural genius was therefore in the temples. It is not purposed in this connection to give any elaborate account of the great structures reared by the Greek artists and builders to the glory of their race. It is not known through what primary stages of development the temple passed before taking its final form. The fundamental idea was that of an abode for a given deity, a place where a statue of a god might stand and be admired or worshiped as the visible image of deity. The place within where the statue stood was called the *cella*, and consisted at first of four simple walls and a roof. From this nucleus all the rest of the structure was expanded. About the cella space was made at first for festal processions and for such ceremonies as were fitting for the peculiar worship. The walls were expanded into a parallelogram, having the sides in proportions to the ends as three to two, or

Temple-building age ensued; evolution of the temple.

two to one, or sometimes two and one quarter to one. Supporting columns were added, and finally the exterior of the whole structure became a colonnade with a frieze and metope and cornice decorated in the highest styles of art.

blended somewhat with that of the Dorians and Ionians, finding its expression rather in modifications of their works than in any distinct accomplishment of its own. Of the other two races, Dorian and Ionian, the former stands first in an-

SANCTUARY OF POSEIDON, AT CALAURIA (DEATHPLAC .MOSTHENES).—Drawn by J. Hoffman.

The old Æolian Greeks were the leas artistic in their development. It is not known certainly that any remnants of their works survive. Perhaps, in the course of time, the Æolian genius diqr .. It is in the Doric architecture that we find most frequent traces of the archaïc rudeness of the past. Here also we note that massive solidity, that severity which always characterizes the art of a people on its first emergence

Dorian architecture affected by prehistoric influences.

from the age of mere building. It is easy to see in the remains which the Dorian race has left behind the hints of the heavy Cyclopean walls and immovable bastions of the Pelasgic architecture.

Centers of architectural achievements of the Dorians.

The artistic building of the Dorians found its best expression in three great centers: Sparta, Corinth, and Southern Italy. We have already said something incidentally about the character of the buildings clustered around the market place of Sparta. Its peculiarity was the absence of those elaborate ornaments with which some future developments of Greek art were so elegantly and profusely adorned. In Corinth the building genius of the Dorian race reached its climax. Doubtless many influences derived from the Ionians had here entered into union with the native genius of the Dorian builders and sculptors. It is thought, moreover, that Corinth was at the first an Æolian city; but if so, it was at an age anterior to the artistic development of the Greeks.

Corinth the flower of Dorian genius in building.

Pausanias has left on record an account of the condition of the city when he visited it in the second century of our era. At that time Corinth had for three hundred and fifty years been under the dominion of the Romans, and its splendor was in a large measure traceable to the profuse but vulgar patronage of that great race. Still the architecture and the art were essentially Greek, and may be said at that epoch to have been the flower of the Dorian genius. In the port of Lechæum stood the great temple of Poseidon, with its brazen statue of that god—greatest single monument of Doric architecture. At the harbor of Cenchreæ was the temple of Aphrodite, of almost equal grandeur. The whole agora was surrounded with temples and columns. Here stood the statues of Bacchus and of Diana of the Ephesians. Here was the temple of Fortuna; here was the magnificent Pantheon, with its fountain, and another Poseidon of bronze.

It is needless to enumerate in detail the vast artistic display in statuary and temples and porches which the city at this time presented. It suffices to call attention to the fact that everything under the influence of the lively genius of the Corinthians had become ornate; that even the old majestic columns of the Dorians had blossomed into that elegance and elaboration of the capital which has given to all civilized countries the name *Corinthian* as descriptive of the very efflorescence of art.

Temples of Poseidon and Ceres at Pæstum.

We have mentioned Southern Italy as another seat of Dorian architecture. The ancient city of Pæstum at the mouth of the Silarus, on the Tyrrhenian sea, contains the best preserved ruins which time and war have spared to us of the Dorian temples. The remains of two vast structures, magnificent even in desolation, cover the plain by the seashore. The older and grander of the two is—or was—the temple of Poseidon. Only the sky is now above it; only the stillness of the Italian landscape around it; only some peasants or quiet cattle in the foreground of the tremendous ruin. The ground plan is one hundred and eighty feet in length by eighty feet in width. The old Doric columns are nearly all in their entirety, unshaken from the place where they stood in their ancient splendor. On the top of the colonnade the architrave still holds its place; and in the crevices wild flowers and vines have found a footing and are spreading green and beautiful in the balm of the Italian air.

The other temple is that of Ceres, or Vesta—for it is not known to which of the divinities it was originally dedicated. The structure is one hundred and seventy feet in length by forty-eight feet in width. The outer walls which formerly inclosed these magnificent edifices were a sort of pentagon in shape, having a perimeter of about three miles.

Greek architecture the reflection of Greek life and genius.

may be said of all peoples, with certain limitations and exceptions. There is an inner and an outer life of man, and that the latter should reflect the former is natural, inevitable. In no part of the work of the race has this principle been more strikingly and happily illustrated than in the two styles of Greek architecture

TEMPLE OF POSEIDON, AT PÆSTUM, RESTORED.—Drawn by J. Buhlmann.

The places of the old gates and archways are still plainly discoverable in the line of the wall, and the traveler can see with his mind's eye the outline of what was once, next to the temple of Corinth, the finest structure built by the Dorian race.

The Greek life wrought itself outward. The forms which it took in structure were transcripts of itself. Perhaps this known as Doric and Ionic. The impressive grandeur of the one and the airy elegance of the other were but the tangible shadows of the character and genius of the two peoples. We have already dwelt upon these ethnic characteristics. It is sufficient to note that the Ionic architecture brought out in perfect relief and full expression the subjective qualities of that remarkably ideal and

beauty-loving people by whom it was created.

In the earlier ages of Greek art the heavier and coarser varieties of stone were used for architectural purposes. In order to give exterior finish and beauty to the column and architrave, as well as to the ceilings and porches and walls within, the surface of the stone was covered with stucco, thus giving a more elegant finish. It was not until the fifth century B. C. that marble was generally substituted for the coarser stone of the primitive architecture. From that time forth Hellas became a land of marble. Especially in those cities where the highest activities of the race were displayed was the use of marble carried to the greatest extent. The carving of marble became a universal art; and the number of artists who were able to produce elegant work could not be paralleled in the modern world, even in Florence.

Use of stucco; Hellas becomes a land of marble.

The Greek mind sought and attained the highest degree of effectiveness in its work. This was reached through the use of the two great facts, *form* and *color*. Here the judgment of the modern world has departed from the Greek standard in disassociating the one from the other. Modern art uses form for sculpture and color for painting, but never combines the two. It is against the canons of recent criticism to *paint* a statue or a column. This was precisely what the art of Greece insisted on doing. When the sculptor's work was completed, the painter's art began. Whether it was the instinctive judgment of the race that the highest end and aim of art could thus be best attained, or whether the Hellenes had brought the tradition of painting their architecture and sculpture from the Eastern countries, we cannot well determine; but it is certain that the Greek temples were painted before they were regarded as perfect.

Color used to heighten the work of the chisel.

The rule was universal. One might well believe that Parian marble, gleaming white in the Grecian sunshine, glinting from its carefully carved surface, might have satisfied with form alone, and that the taste of the Greek might have hesitated before covering such a surface with pigment; but not so. From the earliest development of temple building and statue carving color was freely laid on as a means of decoration. Nor was there any abatement in the application of this rule as Greek architecture advanced to perfection, in the age of Pericles. As the elegance of structure increased—as the freedom and skill of the chisel became greater and greater in the hands of the most famous sculptors of the human race—the canon of art still required that the whole should be painted in high colors before perfection could be attained.

Greek theory that sculptures should be colored.

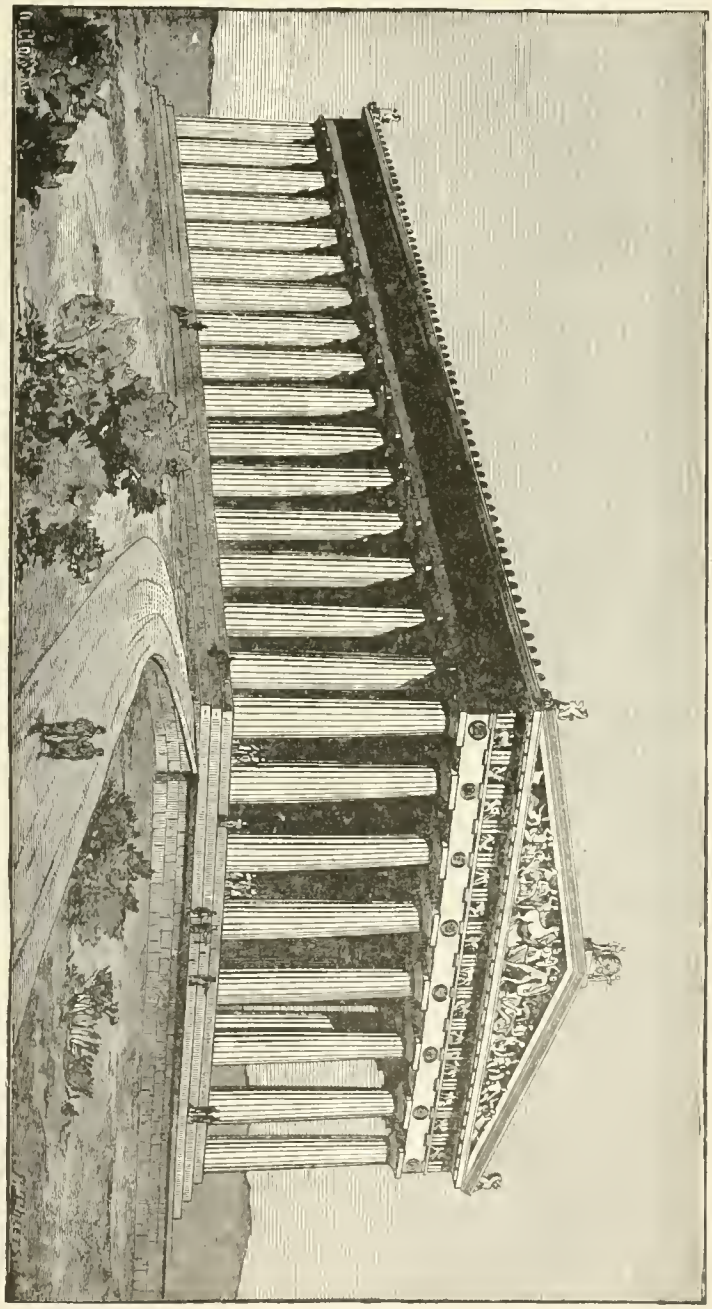
To this end the most brilliant pigments were freely employed—blue, red, green, and gold—laid on with a richness and splendor of contrast the like of which has never been witnessed in the artistic work of any other people. The art of harmonizing colors had been mastered to perfection. The most brilliant hues ever laid on by the painter's brush were thus softened by pleasing juxtapositions with other high colors, until the whole effect was that of a resplendent spectrum blazing in the Grecian atmosphere. After the introduction of marble, instead of the ruder materials of antiquity, the facility for artistic painting on the surface was greatly enhanced. Stucco was no longer

Use of brilliant pigments; stucco discarded.

employed, and it can not be doubted that the artist's brush found a field on the very surface where the sculptor's chisel had done its finest work for the display of the richest and most profuse coloring ever devised by the genius of man.

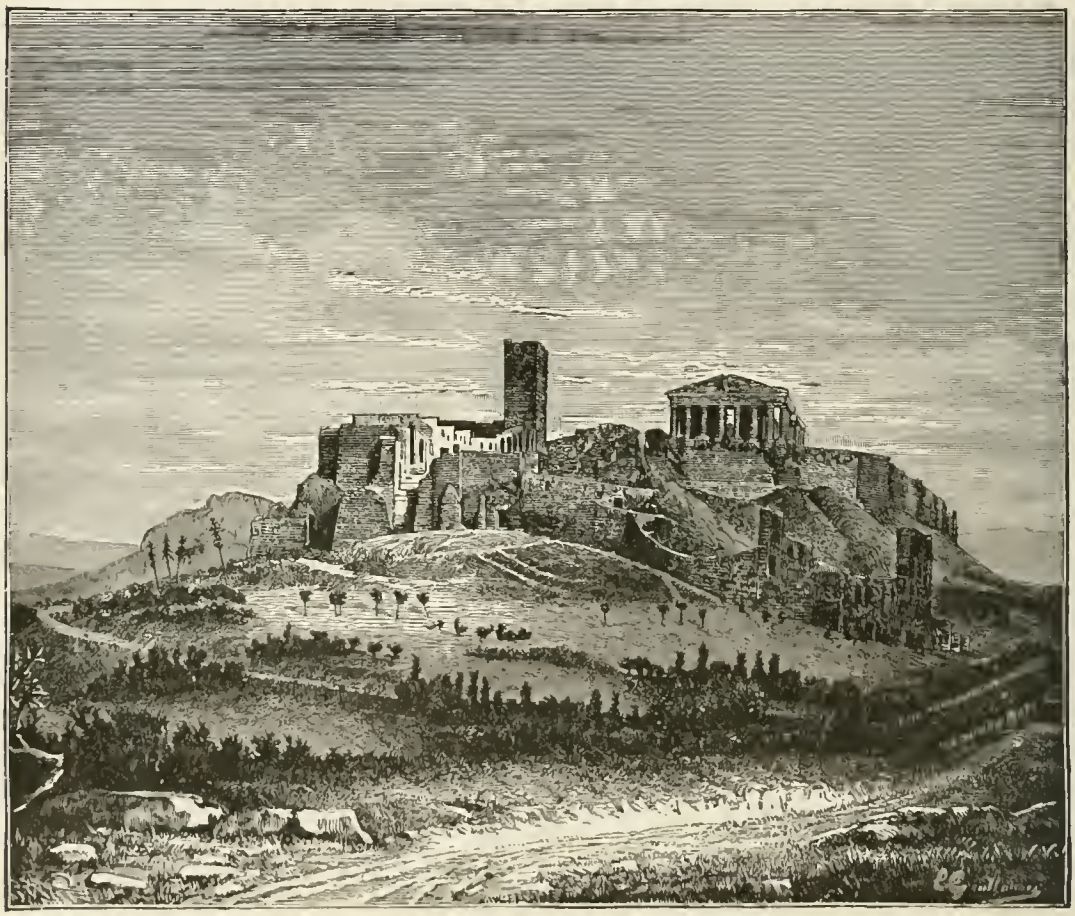
Greece was the art crown of the world; Attica was the crown of Greece; Athens was the crown of Attica; the Acropolis the crown of Athens; the Parthenon the crown of the Acropolis. This is to say that, artistically considered, the very blossom of the human mind was in the Parthenon. Darius had gone down into the shadows of the nether world. Xerxes had followed his father. The pale ghosts of the infinite army had risen in backward flight from Platæa's plain and sea-born Salamis. Athens had risen from her ashes. The Acropolis was no longer a fortress. The easier slopes of the almost inaccessible hill were cut down into beautiful flights of steps. At the summit rises the Propylæa. Mnesicles is the architect. The whole hill is solemnly devoted to the guardian deities of the city. The victorious Athena Promachos stands to the left of the great ascent. She overlooks the divine city which bears her name. On the high level of the native rock rise two temples which may fairly be reckoned the most beautiful and ideal structures ever created by the artisans and artists of the world. The smaller of the two is the Erechtheum, the great national sanctuary of the Ionian race, shrine of the

Great age of Greek art; splendors of the Acropolis.



PARTHENON IN TIME OF PERICLES, RESTORED.—Drawn by F. Thiersch.

common people, temple of Poseidon. In the eldest days Poseidon had stood on this spot. Here he had contended with Athena for the supreme place in the adoration of the primitive Greeks. Here he had set up his trident while the august Athena was planting a laurel. But the trident could not call up the ocean to the top of the hill, and the laurel flourished. Athena was victorious from the first.



THE ACROPOLIS.—Drawn by E. Guillaume, from a photograph.

The Erechtheum was in the Ionic style. The porticoes were supported by elegant columns of that type. On one side of the principal temple was the Hall of the Maidens, in which the superstructure was upheld by a series of splendid Karyatids, or woman figures, bearing baskets on their heads. Around the frieze was a succession of scenes in relief from the Panathenaïc festival, and in like style in the metope were illustrations from the myths and legends of Greece.

Artistic features of the Erechtheum and the Parthenon.

But greater, vaster, more beautiful than the Erechtheum was the Parthenon. The name is from the Greek word *parthena*, meaning "a virgin"—epithet of Athena. The style was Doric, but the columns and entablatures were much lighter and more elegant than the corresponding parts of the massive temples of Southern Italy and Sicily. The ground plan was two hundred and twenty-six feet in length by one hundred feet in

breadth—a parallelogram. Within were two rows of columns dividing the interior into three naves. Other colonnades divided the space transversely, and the imposts of the interior work bore secondary colonnades above. There were two principal spaces, the one in the rear being the treasury of the Athenians where the moneys and many of the memorials and trophies of the state were deposited. It was the interior Acropolis or stronghold of the Ionic race, no longer defended merely by its inaccessibility, no longer a simple fortress on a precipice, but surrounded in the days of glory and triumph with the panoply of all the Greeks.

But it was in the anterior space of the Parthenon, the *Promos*, next the entrance from the Propylæa, that the maximum triumph of the genius of Hellas had been achieved. This is said of the tangible expression in forms of marble and ivory and gold of those sublime concepts of beauty for which the Greeks were unrivaled in their own age, and indeed in all the world. In no other spot on the earth was there ever such an apocalypse of art as in the front space of the Parthenon. Here stood the great chryselephantine statue of Athena by Phidias. In her left hand she held her spear, and in her right a Winged Victory. By her side was the sun-broad shield, on her head the majestic helmet, and on her bosom the panoply. Before her and at the left were smoking altars, and around her in the spaces of the colonnades a collection of statues by the greatest sculptors of the greatest people. In the vast interior were ninety of the masterpieces of Phidias.

The supreme art glories of the Promos.

The subjects of the sculptures of the Parthenon were mythological—Grecian. Here was wrought out the contention of Poseidon with Athena for the possession of Attica. Yonder was the legend of the birth of the goddess from the head of Zeus, and in the metopes were the combats with the Centaurs. The frieze, four hundred feet in length, was filled with a transcript in marble relief of the Panathenaïc festival. Here were mounted the young Athenian horsemen in the great procession—perhaps the

Subjects of the Acropolitan sculptures.

THE APHRODITE OF MELOS.
Drawn by H. Volz, from the original in the Louvre.

most ideal and beautiful heads ever done in stone. Here were the great refractory bulls led to the sacrifice, and well-wreathed rams ready to be offered, the whole constituting a scene which in the existing mutilated fragments of the work still shines forth on the wondering gaze of travelers and artists in the museums of foreign lands.

The prime quality in the art work of the Greeks was ideality. Nature and man were idealized. It was in this respect that the Greek genius rose to its easy preëminence over the mind and achievement of other races. The vividness of the inner concept flashed forth into form and figure. The vision grew in brightness as the chisel and brush played through the radiance and shadows of the studio or along the architrave of the temple. All natural objects were idealized. They took from the mind of the artist a beauty and brilliancy more than their own. Especially were all living forms thus lifted into ideal majesty and perfection. The Greek mind was not greatly inspired with the inanimate outlines of the natural world. It does not appear that the artists of the race "communed with nature" in the sense in which that phrase is understood by modern poets. Motion and life, as exhibited in living forms, were necessary to rouse the sympathies and enthusiasm of the Greek.

Ideality the prime quality of Greek art.

We see these qualities exhibited in the heroic poems. They are the epics of life and action. Description of the natural world is employed only incidentally and as a circumstance of the action. The reader of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* must be surprised to note the mere passing and half-trivial references to the aspects of nature. It is the song of man. In all of Greek art the same thing reäppears. It is the art of humanity. The Greek mind grew vivid on the side of all the humanities; but it required *the sense of sight* to bring forth its supreme activities.

Motion and life and humanity the motifs of the Greek epics.

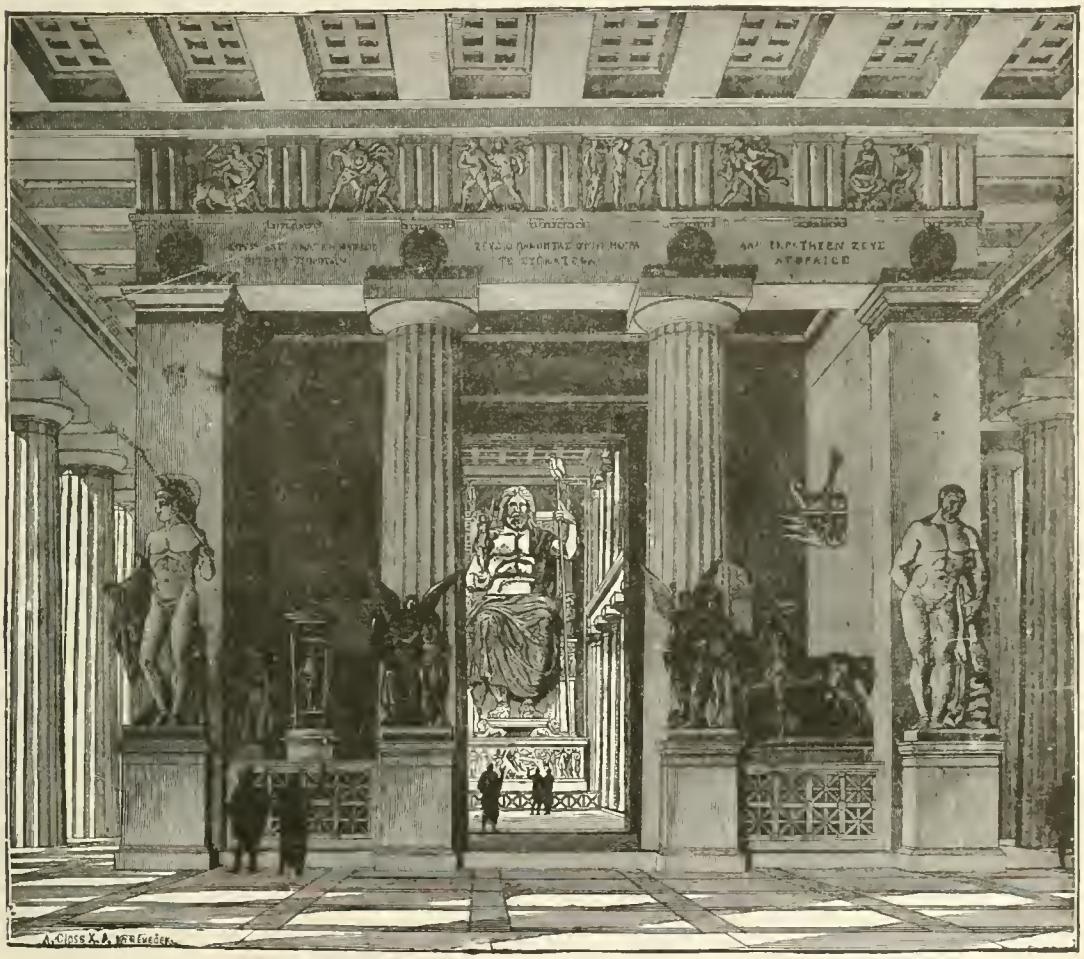
It is surprising to mark the feebleness of the achievement of the Greeks in the art of music. Only a narrow gamut of four poor notes bearing the monotonous cadences of the chant, or the pibroch-like pæan of battle could find expression in the meager scheme of musical notation. But under the inspiration of the sight of life the Hellenic hand was marvelous. It carved and idealized all living forms, but especially the form of man, of woman. Statuary rose above architecture. Sculpture proper, the portrayal in marble or bronze or ivory, of the idealized figures of mortals and immortals provoked the highest genius of the race. Greece became the land of statuary. The work multiplied in variety and extent beyond the limits of description. The cities were full of statues, and sculptors were like merchants for number. Nor was the work merely a trade. On the contrary, it rose everywhere to perfection. Not only were the statues of the gods, the heroes, the Titans, sublime, but even the busts of common Athenian democrats were great in art, and the very Hermæ that marked the corners of the streets were masterpieces.

Absence of musical genius; the Greek statuary.

The sculpture of the Greeks reached its climax about the middle of the fifth century B. C. It was at this period that Phidias, Colotes, and Alcamenes flourished. Much of their work was done under the patronage of the state, and after the fall of Pericles they, in common with the other friends of that

Climax of sculpture in the age of Phidias.

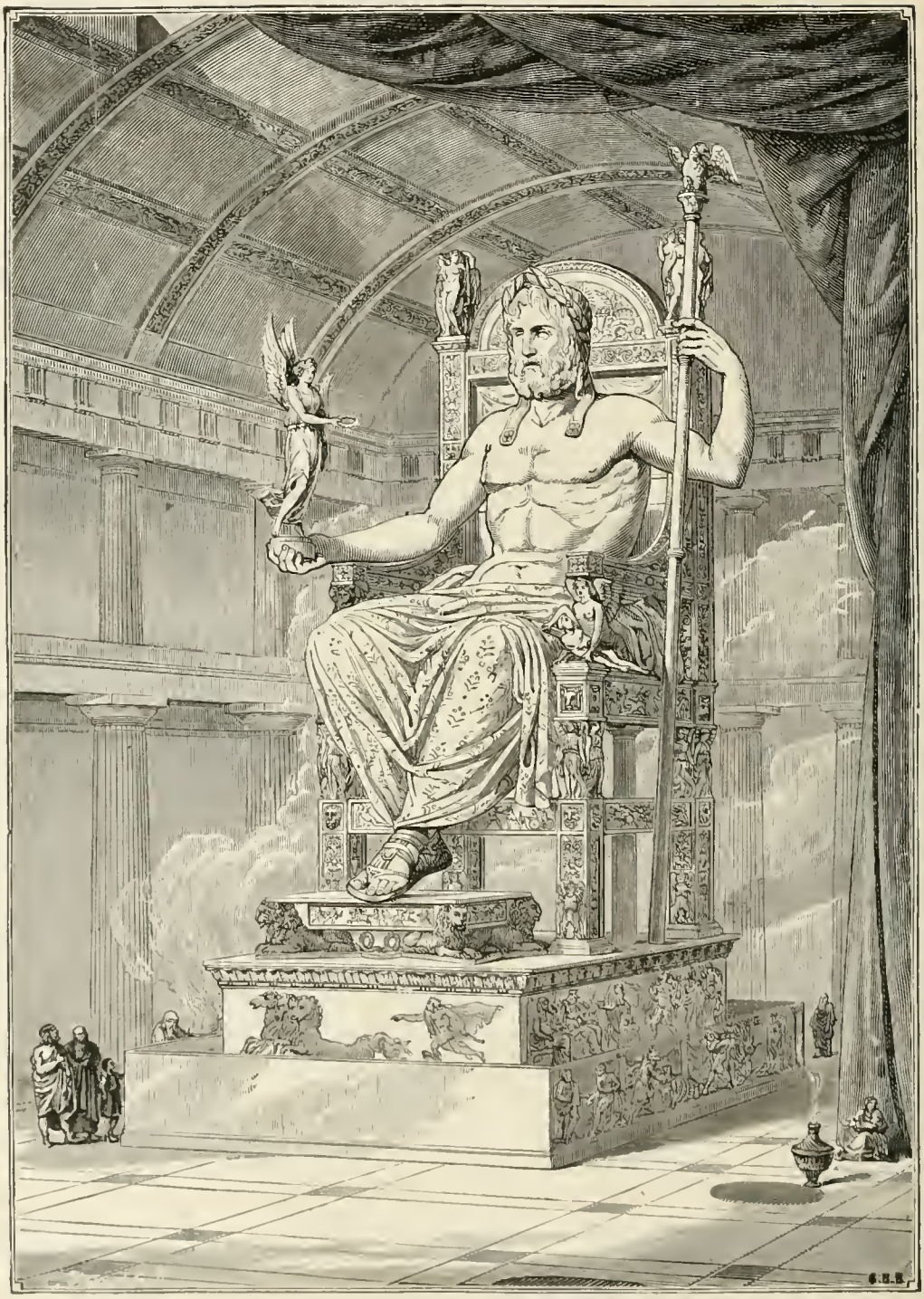
statesman, suffered at the hands of the reäctionary party. But during the period of their ascendency they flourished as no other artists of the world have ever flourished. The extent of their work is incredible. Attica, with her tremendous artistic development, could not contain and trammel up the activities of her geniuses. Distant cities called for them, and through all Greece the sublime work of their chisels was seen.



INTERIOR OF THE TEMPLE OF ZEUS AT OLYMPIA, RESTORED.—Drawn by J. Buhlmann.

The Phidian mission at Olympia.

About 437 B. C., Phidias was called to Olympia, in Western Peloponnesus, to aid in glorifying that remarkable city of art. Olympia was the place of the great national games and the center of one form of Greek religion. It had already become one of the most beautiful cities in all Hellas. The temple of the Olympian Zeus here situated was regarded as a marvel in a marvelous age. It was to execute a statue of the god for this magnificent temple that Phidias was drawn from his work in Athens. For four years he wrought at the task. The art evolution in Greece had now proceeded from the coarser forms of stone, by way of marble, to that form of statuary called chryselephantine; that is, gold-and-ivory. Bronze had already been a long time employed coïncidently with marble. The tremendous statue of Athena Promachos, standing on the Acropolis,



CHRYSELEPHANTINE STATUE OF ZEUS OLYMPIOS, RESTORED.—From *Magazine of Art.*

looking out to sea, was of bronze, from the immortal hands of Phidias. This great work was about fifty-five feet in height. Statuary had become epical, heroic, colossal.

In the execution of the magnificent

statue of Athena for the Promos of the Parthenon, Phidias was ordered by the city to spare no expense that might add to the richness and costliness of the work. He accordingly chose ivory and gold as the principal constituent materials. The body of the statue and most of the parts indicating the actual outline of the goddess were of ivory, while the ornamental parts, such as the helmet and the panoply of the bosom, were of solid gold. Perhaps no effect ever attained by any other means in art was comparable with the splendor which was imparted by the chryselephantine composition.

Statues of Athena Promachos and Zeus Olympios.

On going to Olympia, Phidias chose the same materials for the statue of Zeus

ARES.
From the original, in Villa Ludovisi, Rome.

Olympios. It is likely that he sought from the first in this work to surpass all of his previous efforts. He chose for the god the sitting posture. In one hand he placed a Winged Victory, and in the other the scepter. Whatever may have been the ambitions of the artist, the result rose easily to the climax. It was conceded by antiquity that the Olympian statue was the masterpiece of Phidias, and, indeed, the masterpiece of art. The colossal effigy was sixty feet in height, and was doubtless the sublimest representation of divine things in human form ever conceived by the brain or executed by the hand of men. The statue was reckoned as one of the seven wonders of the world,[1] and during the classical ages drew to itself the admiring gaze of travelers and artists from every quarter of the earth.

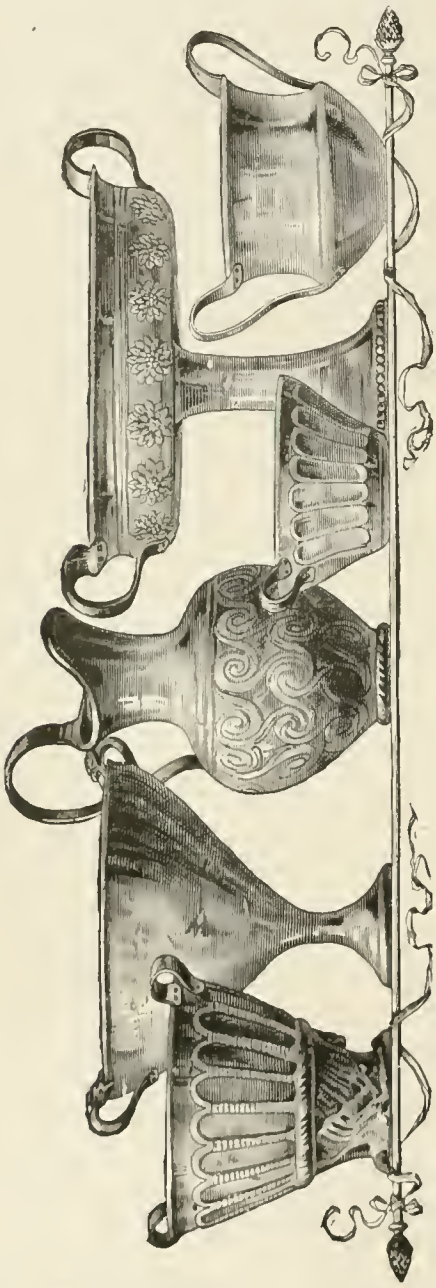
APHRODITE.
From the original, in the Capitol at Rome.

We have already remarked upon the bright apprehension of the Greek mind with respect to beauty of form. The ability of the race to idealize and express

Preëminence of the Greek sculptors over all other artists.

[1] The other six wonders of the ancient world were the Pyramids of Egypt; the Pharos, or lighthouse, of Alexandria; the Colossus of Rhodes; the Walls and Hanging Gardens of Babylon; the Tomb of King Mausolus; and the Temple of Diana of the Ephesians. It will be noted that the other six are all *architectural* in their character. Regarded as a purely artistic concept and expression of the human genius, the Olympian statue of Zeus may be placed at the head of all.

in physical images the outline and features of men and deities was equal to the brilliancy of the concept. It was for these reasons that the Greek sculptors



GOLDEN VESSELS OF THE PRE-CLASSICAL AGE.—Drawn by C. Reiss, for the *Mycenæ* of Schliemann.

became preëminent over all rivals in all lands. Neither behind them in antiquity, nor before them in future ages, did any arise who could fairly compete for the palm in sculpture.

We are here, however, to consider not so much the achievement itself as its reäctionary effect upon the Greek mind and its influence in developing the tastes and dispositions of the people. It can not be doubted that the multifarious work of the Greek artists reäcted in a marvelous manner on the common people and tended to their refinement. Before the end of the Hellenic ascendency in ancient history taste had become a passion with the Greeks, to the extent that the untasteful thing was reckoned the maximum of wickedness. The presence in visible form—on the friezes of all public buildings, in the *cellæ* of the temples, in the streets and market places of the cities—of the tangible expression of the legend, the tradition, the history, and the glory of the Greek race, acted as an inspiration even to the bottom of society, and the whole people became judges of art and subjects of its refining influences.

Reäctionary effects of Greek art upon the people.

It is the relics of these art works of Greeks that now enrich the museums of the civilized nations. This is that classical art beyond which no other has reached, to which no other has attained. Greece in the latter ages of her ascendency became a treasury out of which the works of genius were gathered and exported to other lands. Sometimes it was the work and sometimes it was the artist himself that went by exportation. Mistress Rome allured hundreds of the great Greek sculptors and painters to the west to find shelter under her coarse but mighty wing. Afterward she became a spoiler. Shiploads of Greek art, the finest ever produced by mortal chisel, were borne away. The Greek cities were robbed, the Greek temples spoliated, the Greek shrines emptied or

Diffusion of the Hellenic sculptures and sculptors.

their treasures, in order that the parvenu nabobs of Rome might possess what they could not create.

Fate of the artistic treasures of the Greeks.

The process of duplicating the great works of Hellas was taken up and carried forward for centuries. At length the barbarians burst the barriers of the Alps, and the treasures of ages sunk into the earth. Thousands and hundreds of thousands of marbles most elegant, most beautiful, most sublime were buried in cellars and gardens, and other thousands were knocked from their niches and broken into fragments by the avenging races of the north. Subsequently the tide of art treasure set toward Constantinople. A large part of what had been spared to Greece by Western Rome was carried to Eastern Rome. It was to Constantinople that Phidias's statue of the Olympian Zeus was taken, in the reign of Theodosius I, and there that immortal work perished by fire in A. D. 475.

Abundance of such works in foreign museums.

In recent times there has been a revival of the quest for the art treatures of the Greeks. Out of the earth of Italy, out of the streets of her cities, out of her forums and gardens and basements, out of Sicily, out of Cyprus and Crete, out of the Ionian coast, out of the archipelago, thousands upon thousands of busts and statues and groups, some in tolerable perfection, others eaten by earth-acids and time, others mutilated by violence, have been exhumed and transported to foreign lands. One must needs walk through the long aisles of a great museum to be struck with wonder at the relics of that marvelous age in which the chisels of the Greeks carved their wonders for the admiration of posterity.

Æsthetic development of the Greeks through the senses.

It was, then, the intellect of the Greeks that became the master force first in Eastern Europe, and afterwards in the world. It was an intellect of vast reason, of keen perceptions, and of artistic tastes—a creative intellect, that wrought out the greatest poems and the finest statuary and painting which have ever been achieved by man. The activity of this Greek mind was through the senses, especially the sense of sight, which took in with keenest admiration all living forms and suggested their reproduction in images of marble and bronze. The development of the race was æsthetic, creative, philosophical. Within this range the activities of the Greeks were prodigious to a degree that no modern people have been able to imitate or even to understand. If the development had been uniform, symmetrical in all directions—if the social and political evolution had kept pace with the purely intellectual and artistic expansion of the Greek race—the wonder of mankind would doubtless have been intensified with the spectacle of the most complete and enduring civilization which the growth of the human race has thus far presented.

CHAPTER LI.—CIVIL SOCIETY.

E turn, in the next place, to the consideration of the political forms of the Hellenic people, estimated with respect to the influence of the same on the destinies of this branch of mankind. Here again we are confronted with peculiarities in the Greek character which we should not have expected. The enormous activities of the people would have led to the deduction of a large and substantial political growth. We should have expected that the institutional forms of the Greeks would present developments and perfections correlative with the other achievements of the race; but it was by no means so. The Greek mind blazed up in a conflagration of unexampled brilliancy, but its work in social structure was weak and evanescent. The construction and maintenance of political institutions is by no means the highest, or even one of the highest, forms of human activity. On the contrary, it is one of the lower functional works of the mind—a coarser and less rational process than that which is conversant with letters and art.

Expectation of high institutional forms among the Greeks.

The Greeks were never in any sense politically great. There was much in the structure of their society which may well be looked on with amusement by the publicists and statesmen of modern times. There was never any broad political foundation laid in Greece, never any largely considered institutional form as an expression of national life. On the contrary, everything was local and peculiar. If we consider the history of Greece as a whole, we shall see that for some reason every movement in the direction of what we should call political unity or nationality was checked and paralyzed by countervailing tendencies too strong to be overcome. The resulting segregation, division, and consequent political weakness of the Greeks, even in the times of their greatness, has been the subject of a thousand melancholy reflections on the part of those to whom the development of political grandeur has appeared to be the chief aim of the human race.

Weakness of social and civil evolution of the race.

There is, however, another and totally different view to be taken of this matter. The progress of humanity has not yet been sufficiently forward to allow a final generalization on the subject of government. It can not be denied on the one hand that there have been instances in history in which the genius of the race has seemingly wasted itself for the want of the restraints and conservative influence of stable political institutions; but it is still more easy to cite examples of the opposite condition. We have seen many instances of overgrown political structure under which the genius, the individual energies, and the really sublime powers of man have been crushed as under Juggernaut. Instances of the too great institutional growth of human society are far more frequent than instances of too feeble growth. The question is profoundly philosophical. What is government for? Does it exist for itself? Is it a means unto an end or itself an end? Is it, on the whole, desirable that a great political image shall be

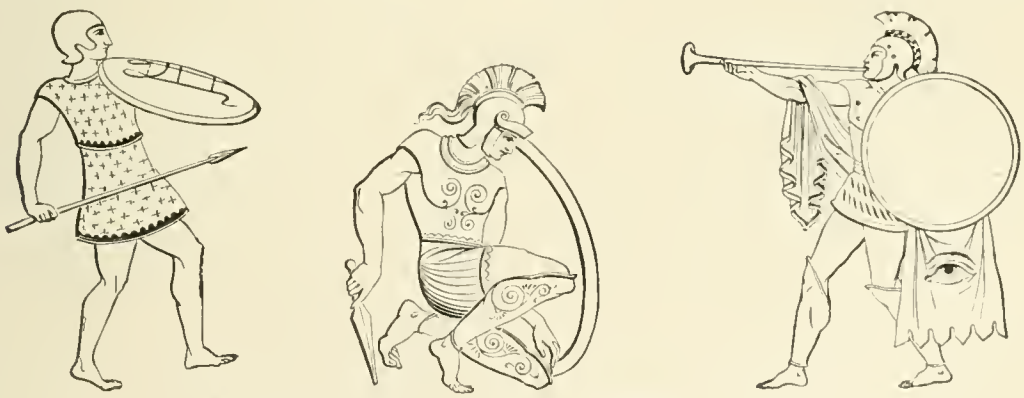
Philosophical relations of man to government considered.

constantly before the minds of a people? or does it not rather stand in the way of the expansion, the growth, and the genius of a given race? How much government, and in what form, is necessary that the best results of the human evolution may be reached? These are among the profoundest questions with which modern societies have to deal; and it may be frankly confessed that, according to the deepest penetration of many of the ablest men of the passing age, the world has, on the whole, been *too much governed* for its own best interests. That is, the political structures of which men in various ages and countries have availed themselves have been too heavy, too rigid, and much too splendid for the best interests of human kind. It may still be determined by the wisdom of the future that only so much political form is valuable to men as is absolutely needed for the expression of their will and the promotion of their purposes.

Among the ancient peoples the Greeks stood at this extreme of society. They neither sought for nor obtained a large political structure. On the contrary, they preferred that all civil provisions and bonds should rest upon them lightly. They were as little disposed to have society clad with a ponderous and gorgeous drapery as they were to clothe themselves with the weight of inconvenient and heavy garments.

All the Greeks desired lightness of political structure.

This nonpolitical disposition among the Greeks was common to all branches of the race. The Dorians as well as the Ionians had an antipathy for elaborate civil government. Their institutions were in a high degree empirical.



MILITARY COSTUMES OF GREEKS AND GREEK COLONISTS.

They were created according to the exigency of circumstances, and were not extended beyond the limits of actual usefulness. There never was among the Greeks any considerable attempt to construct what would be called a logical system of government. It does not appear to have occurred to the Greek lawmakers and statesmen that a system of civil polity

could be created *à priori* in which mankind in general, as much as the Greeks in particular, should be considered.

The science of government did not exist. It is not certain that it would not have appeared ridiculous to Greek statesmen to propose a scheme wider than the particular circumstances before them. In all the revolutions—and their name was legion—which burst out and ran an explosive course in the democratic states of Greece, there was never an effort to look at the question of political institutions from a wider point of view than that of local and temporary expediency. If we could fathom the concepts of the greatest civilians among the Greeks, it is likely that we should find neither desire nor purpose on their part to look at government in any light other than that of immediate adaptation to the wants of a particular community.

Political order by expediency and government by trial.

It is from this point of view that we must consider the formal legislation of the Greeks. Most writers have chosen to regard Lycurgus and Solon as great political logicians, skillful in the craft of creating institutional forms. Nothing could be further from the truth. They were men of expediency, quick to dis-

Philosophy of the Lycurgian laws.

MARKET OF SPARTA—MEETING PLACE OF THE EPHORS.

In the background, the citadel; in foreground, statue of Hermes with infant Bacchus; in middle distance, statue of Spartan people and temple of the Moirai; on the right, the Persian Hall adorned with spoils of the Persian wars.

cern the existing condition of affairs among their respective peoples. They simply expressed the rules of political action which were requisite for the maintenance of the current order. There was nothing in the legislation of either to regenerate society. There was nothing to lay for society a broader foundation—nothing to indicate the existence of enlarged views or statesmanlike proclivities in either the Spartan or the Athenian.

Social and political aristocracy of the Spartans.

Lycurgus found among the Dorians the dominant fact of aristocracy. That fact had already been evolved in the natural progress of the Dorian people. The Heraclidæ, the old mythical leaders of the race out of the north, had become the natural progenitors of a breed of aristocrats calling themselves freemen. These were the real conquerors of Laconia. They founded the Spartan commonwealth. Their pride led to non-intercourse. Their austerity prevented the growth of refinements. The subject classes feared them, hated them. It was under such conditions that Lycurgus, himself one of the aristocracy, a traveler in Crete and a Spartan of the Spartans, laid his hand to the work of legislation; but he created nothing, and reformed little. The whole purpose of his work was to maintain and fortify the existing order. His statutes simply tended to confirm and make permanent a state of affairs which the genius of the Spartan race had already produced.

Relations of the Heraclid kings and the Gerousia.

At the head of Spartan society Lycurgus found a royal family, the alleged descendants of the sons of Hercules. To these he gave the supreme place in the state. Two of them were dominated kings. To them was assigned the command of the Spartans in war and, to a certain extent, the enforcement of civil authority in peace. But while the kings were thus set at the head, they were also included in the principal legislative body called the *Gerousia*, or Senate. This was composed of thirty members, twenty-eight besides the kings. The latter presided over the deliberations of the body. The members were elected by the vote of the Spartan freemen. Any one of the electors might in turn be eligible to membership in the Gerousia; but he must first be sixty years of age. This body was not only the supreme legislative authority of Sparta, but also the supreme court. Its functions were double. The Gerousia first made the law and then interpreted it. The power of the kings was restricted by the authority of the body to which they belonged. Such was the essential constitution of the primitive Spartan commonwealth.

Essential oligarchy of the system; the ephors.

It will be noted that this kind of government was an oligarchy of the purest type. It was the domination of the few. All experience shows how natural and inevitable, indeed, is the movement of such a body toward the severest forms of tyranny. In Sparta a necessary provision against this tendency was found in the creation of a body of more popular officers, called the *ephors*. These were the only break on the iron wheel of the Gerousia. The ephors were elected by the people at large—that is, the Spartans at large—and stood as their representatives, like the better known tribunes of the people in the Roman system of government. The ephors had a check, or veto, upon the actions of the Gerousia; but they could originate nothing, enforce nothing. They stood for that function of government which in modern states is called the veto power.

It is not needed in this connection to enter into any detailed account of the characteristics of the Lycurgian system. Such discussion belongs rather to formal history than to an account of the ethnic development of mankind. In so far as the legislation of Lycurgus may be said to have had any definite object, any rational end to be attained, it looked to the creation of a citizen soldiery. All the energies of the state were bent to the one purpose of making soldiers. This is said particularly of the free Spartans. The middle class, called the *Perioeci*, were also of a military development, but the principal thing was to make every free Spartan into a heavy armed soldier—a *hoplite*, in the phraseology of Greek.

Military intent and office of the constitution.

MILITARY COSTUMES OF SPARTANS

AND EGYPTIANS COMPARED.

The means unto this end were partly social and partly political. We have already seen how strenuous were the exertions, by means of the Spartan gymnasium, to bring up the boy to the full development of his physical powers and activities. The end was that he might serve the state as a warrior. The girls were subjected to virtually the same discipline. As a result, there was a tremendous vigor in the Spartan women which some have called masculinity. They were openly taught from childhood that their business in the world was to bear soldiers and rear them. After the juvenile age the Lycurgian statute took the matter in hand, and from that time forth the discipline of the youth was almost wholly military. Further on he was taught tactics. The Spartan system of organizing and directing an army in the field was admirable for an unscientific age. It is likely that the ancient world did not furnish a parallel to the resisting power and aggressive force of the Spartan phalanx in battle. Thucydides has recorded his wonder at the celerity and precision of the Spartan military movements, and especially at the ease with which the general made his commands felt in all parts of the field.

Means adopted to make all Spartans soldiers.

It was a part of the discipline, of the

system, of the theory of this people to be as wary as they were brave; not to press an advantage to the extent of risking it; not to make a reckless pursuit or to indulge in any wild and visionary military movement. The discipline required that the Spartans should stand up in the shock of battle, receive the onset, and repel it at whatever cost; that they should advance courageously against the enemy, however overwhelming his numbers, and should coolly meet all the perils of the struggle without even the consideration—much less the regard—of danger. Such was the perfection of the training that the same stoical manner and total indifference to results which characterized the Spartans in the agora and at the communal tables where they banqueted at home, was carried into battle and maintained in the midst of carnage, even to the utter extinction of the last man of the phalanx.

Ethics of Spartan discipline and battle-making.

Lycurgus has had the reputation of having determined, if he did not create, the social and industrial condition of the Spartans; but here again the credit is misplaced. It has been said that the division of the lands into thirty-nine thousand equal lots, of which the Spartans proper received nine thousand, while the remainder went to the Periœci and others, was devised by the Lycurgian statutes. For this the authority of Plutarch is cited; but more recent investigations have shown that Lycurgus merely adopted the prevailing system of landownership. It is highly probable that the Heraclidæ on their incoming with the Dorians had made an equal division of the lands, and that this fundamental ownership continued to the times of Lycurgus. Nearly all primitive peoples have had a similar communal arrangement of their real estate, and it is not likely that the matter was carried further in Sparta than in some other countries.

Preëxisting system of landownership adopted by Lycurgus.

In course of time great inequalities in wealth had come to pass, and it will be conceded that the Lycurgian statutes were a strong countercheck upon this tendency. It might be truthfully said that the most marked feature of this legislation, considered as a whole, was its antipathy to all of those processes by which men become great through industrial enterprises and the accumulation of wealth. With respect to these things the laws of Lycurgus may be said to have been devised with as much cunning as severity. Everything was skillfully contrived to put a damper on accumulation, to prevent the growth of the commercial spirit, and to forestall the amassing of fortunes. The theory that all Spartan citizens were equals was extended to mean that they *should continue so*. The evolution of individual power, instead of being encouraged as a healthful tendency, was checked, held back, and hampered by the whole force of society and the state. Doubtless in the times of the Spartan ascendency the natural forces of human life had sufficiently declared themselves to make some rich and others poor; but it was the struggle of nature against the artifice of man, and the inequality was reduced to a minimum.

Constitutional opposition to the amassing of wealth.

In one respect, however, all Spartan citizens were equal: they must all alike submit themselves to the rigor of a certain discipline by which they were to be fitted for their place in the state, and particularly for their duties in the field. This part of the theory was so rigorous as to admit of no variation or departure

No democracy except in military training.

from the common standard. The type of character thus produced was sufficiently uniform, but it was by no means a democratic uniformity. The aristocratic principle always asserted itself; and when one Spartan citizen is said to have been equal to another, it must be understood in the sense of an oligarchic equality without a symptom of popularity in it.

When it is said that the Spartans were a race of soldiers, the expression is sometimes erroneously taken as a figure of speech; but there is here no metaphor at all. Every free Spartan was a soldier. It was his business to be a soldier. The dominant element in Spartan society was simply a warlike force. With the ordinary industrial occupations the Spartan citizens had absolutely nothing to do. They were neither agriculturists, merchants, nor manufacturers. To be any of these things was totally foreign to the genius and the practice of the dominant race. As to the cultivation of the soil, that was attended to by the Perioeci and the Helots. Merchandising, marketing, and the like, were the business of the same classes, or of the few mercenary foreigners whose presence was barely tolerated in the city. So completely were the true Spartans absorbed in their one business of war that it is a puzzle to the modern inquirer to understand in what way their energies found vent in times of peace. The social dispositions of the people were abridged and held in check by the anti-literary spirit and incommunicative genius of the race. Only the recurrence of the national games and festivals called forth and exercised the disposition of a people to whom refinements were distasteful and by whom polite occupations were totally discredited.

LIFE OF WAR.—ARISTOMENES FIGHTING HIS WAY OUT OF IRA.

War for freeborn Spartans and trade for the Perioeci.

It is not our purpose here to recount the cunning expedients which Lycurgus adopted to prevent foreign intercourse and to smother the commercial spirit at home. The story of his iron money is sufficiently well known. Perhaps if any single feature of his legislation may be called original, that is, if any part of it introduced an actually new feature of social development, it was the institution of the communal table. To this the Greeks gave the name of *Syssitia*. It was a public mess. All Spartan citizens were divided among the various messes. This signified that a certain number should each day sit at the joint tables, which were provided from a common store and according to a uniform bill of fare. It was a part of the Lycurgian system to make the fare as despicable as possible. A sort of coarse black bread and sundry beans and fish constituted the principal meal. Wine and game from the forests were added under certain restrictions.

Institution of the communal table by Lycurgus.

In determining the group of fifteen persons who should sit at the common table all preferences of friendship and all family ties were put aside. The group was made up by lot, and this circumstance intensified the unsocial character and laconic intercourse of the feast. Only few words were spoken, and they must be to the point. A mere hint was better than an explication. Jocularity and enthusiasm were as foreign to such an assemblage as warmth under the snow or a smile on the face of the sphinx.

Intercourse at the Spartan board; the Laconic manner.

For the rest, Lycurgus may be regarded simply as the formulator into statute of the existing usages and tendencies of the Dorian race. It must be remembered, however, that the Spartans were not in all respects typical of the Dorians, and that their right to represent that people in their institutional forms has been strongly controverted. But the Spartans were the most conspicuous example of Dorian development, and Lycurgus was their lawgiver to the extent of giving his name to those early usages by which the course of the people was politically, and to a certain extent socially, determined.

To what extent the Spartans represented the Dorian race.

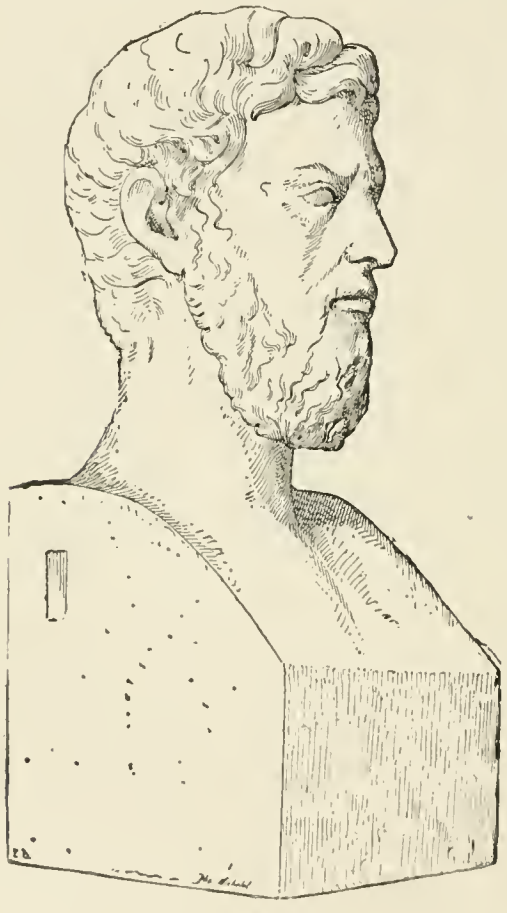
The system which he established was sufficiently fixed and durable. It was presently used as a criterion by which the practices of the Spartan people were regulated in war and in peace. The Lycurgian laws held their own. The revolutionary and reformatory tendency was but feebly felt at Sparta. While the democratic states of Greece were full of insurrection, tumult, progress, action, and reäction, Sparta held on her course. Her vicissitudes were many, but her changes few. The old impress was retained, the old type upheld, not only during the Spartan ascendency in Greece, but to the very end of Grecian nationality. The last kings who reigned at Sparta had in them the spirit of the race. The same austerity and haughtiness which had been exemplified in Eunomus and Polydectes was the dominant passion with Agis and Lysander; and the Spartan women at the last were as heroic, as nonchalant, and as silent in grief and joy as they had been in the earliest ages.

Permanency of the Lycurgian constitution.

The striking differences between the peoples of Northern and Southern Greece were the result of development. We may easily discern in primitive Attica much of the same aristocratic and oligarchic quality that we have found in the Spartans. The first institutions of

Divergence of Spartans and Athenians in development.

the two countries were not so dissimilar as they afterwards became. It is evident that the Ionian chiefs and warriors, under whose leadership the peoples of several of the northern states were established, were in those countries the natural progenitors of an aristocracy. The difference was not in the beginning but in the growth. In Central Greece



BUST OF AN EPHETES.

certain democratic checks appeared at an early day which prevented the aristocratic evolution and turned the spirits and practices of the people into new channels.

All students of history have taken some note of the institutions of Draco. The bad reputation of this lawgiver with posterity is now shown to have been in large measure unmerited. The proverbial statement that his laws were written in blood instead of ink has been found to have no other basis than the prejudice of his democratic countrymen and the foolish repetition of posterity. Not a line of the Draconian laws has been preserved in their original form. We are indebted for our knowledge of this code to Plutarch's references to the subject in his sketch of Solon. It may be accepted that the legislation of the older publicist was severe. Plutarch relates that the early usages of the Ionians were immoderate in the punishment of crime. The theft of a cabbage or an apple was visited with death as much as the spoliation of a temple or the murder of a citizen. The theory was that the smallest offense against the law could only be properly vindicated by the death of the offender, and since death was the worst of penalties, the greater crimes could receive no more. Doubtless in this case, also, Draco found the usage and admitted it into his code. He simply formulated the savagery of the age and gave it expression. The Draconian rules, considered by the polite Athenian democrats of later times and by the Roman lawyers of the empire, appeared barbarous and brutal; and Draco gained at the hands of the commentators his bad reputation.

Nature of the Draconian laws; theory of punishment.

According to the tradition of the times the institutions of the *Ephetai*, a body of fifty-one elders, sitting in four different courts, was the work of Draco. Among these courts the various kinds of crime were divided out for trial in the primitive practice of Attica. The fact that these courts from the earliest epoch appear to have discriminated between murder and the less criminal grades of

Institution and office of the Athenian Ephetai.

homicide down to accidental killing is of itself sufficient to destroy the belief in the absolutely bloody character of the Draconian laws.

Philosophy and parallels of the legislation of Draco.

Draco belonged to the afterpart of the seventh century B. C., perhaps two hundred years after the age of Lycurgus. The efforts of both these lawgivers, one Dorian and the other Ionian, are to be classed with those primitive movements which we see in almost every tribe of men emerging from the barbarous condition. The giving of the Ten Commandments by Moses and the setting up of the Twelve Tables in ancient Rome were events exactly analogous to the institution of the Draconian code in Athens. Myth and tradition have been busy with Draco's name and fame. It was said anciently that he was called Draco; that is, *Dragon*, because of the barbarous severity of his legislation. Another legend records the manner of his death. In old age, after completing his laws, he was greatly admired by his countrymen. At the last, as he was sitting in the theater at Ægina, in an outburst of enthusiasm, the audience, especially the women, threw upon him their chitons, caps, and cloaks until the sage was smothered to death.

Progress of the Ionians demands constitutional revision.

In course of time the Ionian political development demanded a reform in the severe order which had been established by the Draconian code. At the beginning of the sixth century B. C. we are able to discover in Ionian Greece a hard struggle on the part of the old aristocratic families to maintain themselves against a growing democracy. In Athens the revolutionary tendency had led to the expulsion of several noble households. Among these the Alcmæonids were conspicuous.

Nature and application of the Solonian legislation.

It was in connection with this popular attempt to overthrow the aristocratic families that Solon came to the front. He was himself of noble extraction, a native of Salamis. Through his efforts the island was restored from the domination of the Magarians to its old Athenian allegiance. In 594 B. C., Solon was elected Archon, and while holding this office he was called upon by his colleagues and the common voice to undertake a reform of the existing Attic constitution. The circumstances which provoked this movement related to the industrial condition of the country. The ancient noble families had become wealthy at the expense of the producing classes. Though there was nominally a system of free landownership, the benefits thereof had been destroyed by the extortions of the large landlords. A system of oppressive renting had taken the place of fee simple ownership, and the common people groaned under the exactions of the times. Attica was virtually bankrupt as to her producing classes. It was to alleviate this condition of affairs and to institute a more liberal order that the Solonian reforms were undertaken.

Methods of relieving the people of the hardships of debt.

The reforms in question were all in the direction of the popular interest as against the claims of the money-lenders and landlords. Two methods of relieving the country from the burden of debt were adopted. The first was the cancellation of all land mortgages by which the farms, orchards, and gardens of the people were set free in the hands of the true owners. The other method of relief was the scaling of debts. This was accomplished by debasing the currency. A new scale was adopted by which the existing money was depreci-

ated by about twenty-seven per cent of its metallic value. The actual legislation on the subject was the enactment that the coin should, after the date of the law, have a debt-paying power above its nominal value. According to the exact standards of modern times these measures were sufficiently revolutionary and communistic; but the event showed that they were not more radical than salutary. The land was set free, and the small cultivators of the soil had a new lease of life.

RECEIVING THE GUEST.
Drawn by C. Reiss, from a vase.

It will thus be seen that the Solonian statutes reached down into industrial and social conditions beyond the limits which would be fixed for modern legislation. In the other direction the new laws went on to the extent of a political revolution. The whole political system was remodeled with a view to giving every Attic citizen a share in the government. The reform did not by any means extend, at the beginning, to the establishment of a complete democracy; but in determining the new order Solon provided that *property* instead of *tribal descent* should determine the power of each citizen in the state.

Democracy substitutes property for tribal descent.

Under the old system the Eupatrids, or noble families, had monopolized all the rights and prerogatives of citizenship. They held the offices of the state and made and interpreted the laws at their will. The Solonian system abolished the hereditary scheme of rights, and substituted therefor a new classification of the people. A graduated scale of property was established. All citizens were divided into four classes, according to their tax schedule. The actual administration of the government was confined to citizens of the first, or wealthiest, class; but as a compensating circumstance this class had to bear the greatest burden of taxation. The second division of citizens were the knights, or horsemen. The distinction was made on the ability of each person of this class to keep a war horse at his own expense for the service of the state.

Taxation adjusted according to wealth and class.

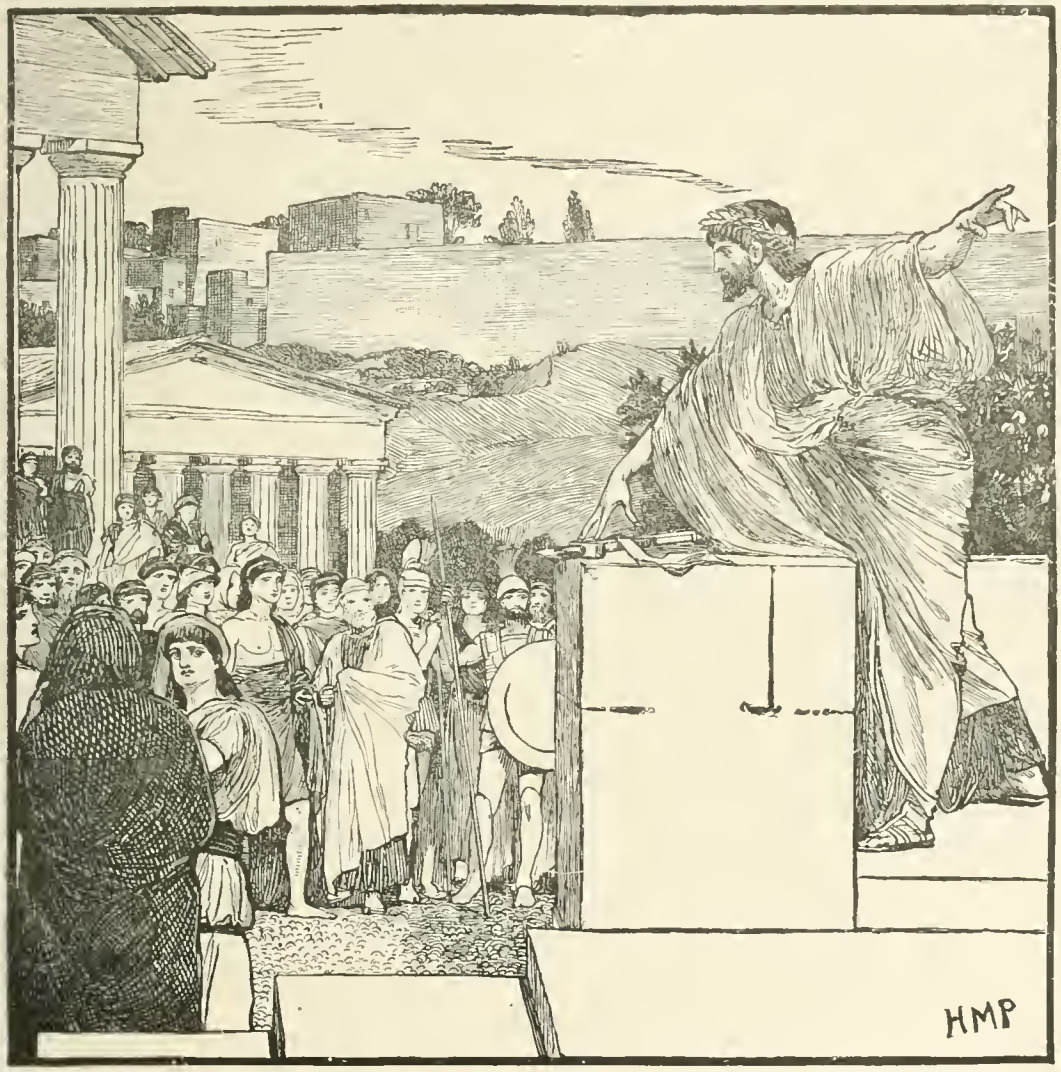
Citizens of the second class paid three fifths of the amount assessed against the first class in taxation. The third class also had respect to the military service. The men of this division were the heavy infantry of the Attic army.

Duties and burdens of citizens of the under classes.

Their taxes were lighter in proportion as their responsibilities were fewer and more easily borne. Citizens of the fourth class were exempt from direct taxation, and as to military service were employed only as light troops or sailors for the fleet. The poorest and humblest of the Attic people belonged to this order. As to political rights, they were members of the popular assembly; and as this body had the prerogative of choosing the magistrates of the state, the power of the common people was felt in all things.

Thus the theory of the Solonian legislation had respect to property, taxation, and responsibility in the state. The three were correlated. They were all in direct ratio. The greater the property, the higher the taxation and the heavier the responsibility. The less the responsibility, the lower the taxation and the smaller the amount of property. This feature of the work of the Athenian lawgiver has been much commented on by publicists of other ages and countries. It has been regarded as one of the admir-

Correlation of property, taxation, and responsibility.



THE GREEK ASSEMBLY.—Oration of Demosthenes.

able features of the Athenian laws that the responsibilities, burdens, and wealth of the citizens were held as correlatives, and that the one was not permitted to be in excess of the legal ratio for the other two.

If the laws of Solon can be said to have originated anything, it was the fourth estate of the people. He found the great court of Areopagus, and retained it. He found the archonship, and retained it. He found the usage of voting as a means of determining the public will; but the popular assembly may be said to have been his work. In this body citizens of all classes convened; but since the poor far outnumbered the rich, since the fourth estate was the bottom section of the pyramid, the votes in the assembly would represent the real democracy. To this was added the right of public speech. Each citizen must vote by a show of the hand, but the voter might also speak in defense of his ballot. Here we may place the beginning of that free right which the Athenians in after times so greatly cultivated, and of which they were so justly proud. Here was the true foundation of that future democracy which in its development, in the palmy days of Greece, furnished so strong a contrast to the oligarchy of Sparta.

The assembly and free right of democracy due to Solon's laws.

We may here note for the first time, perhaps, in the history of the human race the organization of a political society from below upwards—from the people to their rulers. The Athenian popular Assembly became the origin of power and authority. Out of the whole body were annually chosen by lot a division of six thousand citizens, called the *Heliæa*, who were the jurors and judges of the Athenian people. The Heliæa was in its turn divided into sections of manageable size; and these sat by turns deciding all matters submitted, both as to law and fact. The only qualification was that the juror should be thirty years of age and an Attic citizen.

Ascendency of the Assembly and the Heliæa.

In practice this court was much busied with political offenses, in which the Athenian commonwealth so greatly abounded. In course of time the Heliæa became the seat and scene of gross abuses, but it ever subserved the purpose of jealous guardianship over the rights and privileges of the Athenians. So powerful was the popular assembly and this secondary body of six thousand, derived directly therefrom, that the whole political development of Attica—and if of Attica, of the Ionian race—became democratic to an extent which it would be perhaps impossible to parallel in the annals of mankind.

Democratic domination of the Ionian race.

In almost every regard the Athenian commonwealth and the civil polity which prevailed therein were strongly contrasted with the Dorian development in Sparta. We have already remarked upon the exclusiveness of the Lycurgian laws—how they discouraged enterprise, dampened industry, prevented commercial intercourse, and hindered the accumulation of wealth. The Solonian statutes led in exactly the opposite direction. They gave encouragement to commerce. As we have shown above, they strongly stimulated the producing forces of the state. They went so far even as to impair existing contracts, scale debts, and reduce the purchasing power of money in order to stimulate the energies of the producing classes.

Strong contrasts of Athenian and Spartan governments.

The constitution prepared by Solon also led to the evolution of citizenship. It gave great encouragement to the intercourse of the streets and shops as

well as to the higher intercourse of the agora and the pnyx. Instead of warding off the citizens of other states and countries, the laws of Solon almost invited immigration. As a matter of fact, great numbers of foreign settlers found residence in Athens and became citizens of the commonwealth on the easy condition of paying the tax and assuming the common responsibilities of the class with which they were incorporated. These foreigners presently constituted something of a division of themselves. They were known as *Metœci*, that is, Metics, or Settlers. The discrimination against them was very slight. Many of them by following the mercantile pursuit became rich, and the conditions of life in Athens were so kindly and tolerant that the foreigner was unhampered in his intercourse and but slightly prejudiced in his relations.

Popular tendencies of the Athenian constitution.

Similar praise may be given to the Solonian laws for the humane spirit which characterized the code as a whole. Punishments were light and much more rational than those of the Spartans. Though criminals were still visited with severe penalties, there was little of that barbarity which marked the administration of law in the south. In general, the restraints put upon the free action of the Athenian people were as few and as easy as could be expected even in an enlightened age. In so far as a government may be regarded as an instrument of human happiness, as a means unto an end, the end being the enlargement of the individual, the extension and protection of his rights and privileges, it might well be said that the constitution of Solon was as wise and efficacious as the fundamental law of any other state, ancient or modern.

Humane elements in the Solonian code.

As we have said and repeated, the early Hellenic lawgivers wrought for the most part with material already furnished to their hands. There is a sense in which all law is in its last analysis common law— the result of custom falling first into usage and then into statutory form. No doubt in the more advanced stages of nationality men do create out of right reason and from a philosophical basis such statutes as *ought* to be adapted to a somewhat idealized form of human society. To such law

Common law and civil code join in Athenian constitution.

MANNERS AND COSTUMES.—GREEKS CONVERSING.
From Hope's *Costumes of the Ancients*.

the name civil is generally given to discriminate it from the law which has its origin in experience and usage.

Course of events not greatly changed by legislators.

The common opinion of mankind has ascribed altogether too much force to the Lycurgian and Solonian laws in Greece. It is a part of that general mistake which assigns to individual men the power of creating new forms of society. Such power has very seldom been the possession of any man or of any men. Especially in the matter of jurisprudence have the so-called lawgivers been simply the formulators of existing rules of conduct, with such slight enlargement as would be suggested in the process of formal legislation. Lycurgus and Draco and Solon were men of this class. They did something by the force of their genus to divert the currents of Greek life into new channels of civil and political action; but the channels were already prepared, and if no such men had ever appeared—that is, if those particular men had not appeared—the course of events would doubtless have been the same.

Strong reäction of governmental system upon the people.

It is true, however, that the formal work of creating a constitution for an active and vigorous people marks an epoch in their development, and that the reäctionary effect of such work is very marked. When the rules of political society have been once definitely determined, they constitute the criteria by which all individual action is thenceforth judged; and if the people themselves have participated in the expression of the new rules of civil conduct, the counter effect upon themselves will be considerable, and in some cases great. It proved to be so with the Greeks. Particularly among the Ionians—most strikingly among the Athenians—where the democratic principle was boldly advanced and adhered to, were the reäctions of the governmental polity upon the people strong and enduring. Athens presently displayed in her public life a degree of popular energy surpassing that of any other ancient state. The character of the institutions strongly stimulated the already energetic political temper of the people, and the display of civil ability became great, marvelous.

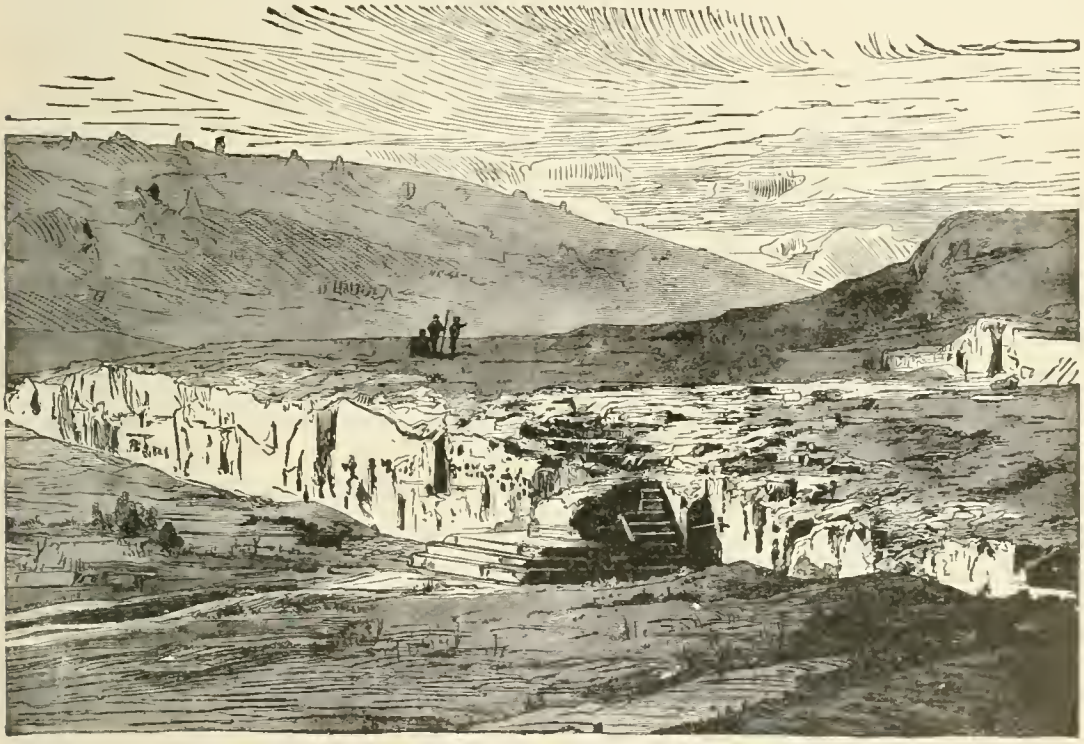
Vices and virtues of the Athenian democracy.

The Athenian democracy in the grand days of the commonwealth, after the Persians had been beaten back to their own place, after the eloquence of Pericles and the chisel of Phidias had coöperated to make the city splendid, was chargeable with all the faults of action peculiar to its kind. Aye, more, it was guilty of all the crimes against the rights of the individual citizen—which rights were in their last analysis the very essence of the state—wherewith the enemies of democracy in ancient and modern times have charged that illustrious citizenship; but it can not be denied that in its best days the Athenian assembly was the grandest field for the display of the greatest talents which, the public life of mankind has ever exhibited.

Solon's legislation supplemented by that of Clisthenes.

We must not suppose, however, that the democratic evolution at Athens was at once accomplished under the influences and tendencies of the Solonian statutes. The old rival families of the Alemæonidæ and the Pisistratidæ still contended with the democracy for the mastery of the state and with each other for leadership; but the whole political tide set toward the free people of Attica. In course of time Clisthenes appeared and, backed by the Delphic oracle, carried forward the democratic impulse of the people into still more

perfect organs of expression. The four *Demoi* into which the Athenians had been divided according to the laws of Solon were extended to ten. These corresponded with the *Tribes* which constituted the fundamental political division of the Roman people. To each demos was assigned by the law of Clisthenes fifty senators, increasing the whole number of the senate from four hundred to five hundred. Each demos



THE PNYX IN ITS PRESENT APPEARANCE.—Drawn by H. Nestel.

was put under the headship of a demarch, who stood as the representative of his particular tribe.

At the same time, and as a means of curbing the ambition of demagogues, the *ostracism* was instituted. This institution has been judged and misjudged by modern writers. It was undoubtedly the vehicle of many and great abuses; but it was also in many respects a salutary part of the public system. The bottom motive in the creation of such an institution was to inspire a wholesome dread on the part of ambitious demagogues. The abuse of ostracism lay in the fact that it could be capriciously and vindictively turned—as it many times was turned—against the best citizens of the state. The reader must bear in mind, however, that to be ostracised, as ostracism went at Athens, was little more than to be voted down at any other democratic election. The hardship of the case was the circumstance of banishment or exile, which was added to the adverse decision of the people.

Uses and abuses of the Athenian ostracism.

The reader who has attentively followed this evolution of Greek society from its beginnings up to its full aspect in the times of the Athenian ascendency will be prepared to understand how it was that the domestic life of the people gave place to the public life. No other

Public interest absorbs the private life of the Greeks.

people, whether ancient or modern, lived so much in public as did the Greeks. Everything seemed to conspire to draw the energies of the race into the whirl and excitement of citizenship. All the institutions which had been evolved by sages and statesmen at different epochs reäcted upon the national spirit and intensified the natural instincts of the race. The people came to take delight in the affairs of state. The crowd surged along the streets and into the agora and pnyx. There was a hum of perpetual excitement. The condition of foreign and domestic affairs did not always furnish material for actual statesmanship. In the piping times of peace the Athenians must find vent for their pent-up politics in the discussion of factitious and trivial issues. In such times the bickerings of sophists were substituted for the debates of sages, and the howl of the demagogue was heard in place of the statesman's peroration.

Litigious disposition of the people; passion for debate.

Not only did the Greeks busy themselves to an unusual degree in the discussion and enactment of their laws, but they also took great interest in all legal proceedings. They were the most litigious race of men. A great lawsuit was their delight. Little did it matter whose cause was just, but it greatly mattered whose argument was fallacious. As we have already remarked, the Greeks were not greatly influenced by the fundamental right or wrong of anything; but the processes of determining the same were to them a perpetual delight. The exercise of the reasoning faculties was to the average Athenian as exhilarating and healthful to his mind as his physical gymnastic was to the body; but the end to be attained by argument—the final rectification of a cause according to the immutabilities of justice—were to the Greek little more than his quoits, his turning-pole, and his trapeze. He quarreled and contended for the sake of contention. The racket of debate, the complication and uproar of contending voices sufficed for the excitement wherewith his daily life was heated for action. To sue and to be sued in the courts furnished a basis for that perpetual talk and strife without which the life of the Athenian Greek would have soon pined away into weakness and stupor.

Last bad estate of the Attic democracy.

In process of time the disposition of the Athenians became more light, inattentive to serious business, more prone to avoid the responsibilities of citizenship. It would appear that the last estate of absolute democracy is not so inspiring as the first estate. It was one of the peculiarities of Athenian life in the latter stages of the commonwealth that the duties of citizenship were avoided rather than sought for. The better people became willing that any blatant demagogue should take the lead, and that the judges should be made up from lists of citizens who had nothing else to do. The situation with respect to the courts became similar to that which we have seen in American cities. The wise and thrifty citizen, absorbed in affairs and personal responsibilities, avoided the court and its business; and the jury bench was packed with imbecile professionals who sought the place for the fee. One of the striking spectacles in Athens was the stretching of ropes across the streets and around the crowds of people in the market, by which they might be dragged into the pnyx to participate in an election or to submit themselves to the lot in the choice of jurors and judges. By such means were the important offices of the state filled with ignorant and unworthy occupants.

CHAPTER LII.—OLYMPUS AND THE RELIGIOUS LIFE.

THE thoughtful reader will have observed that the present discussion of the growth and character of the Greek people has proceeded from the merely physical basis to the higher and more ideal aspects of life. This method has been adopted for the reason that it seems to conform to the actual facts in the case of the Greeks. As we have said, the race began its career from a material point of departure. We have seen that even the education of the Greeks partook of the common movement. One may easily discern in the poetry and art of this remarkably intellectual race the outlines of physical conditions and sympathies.

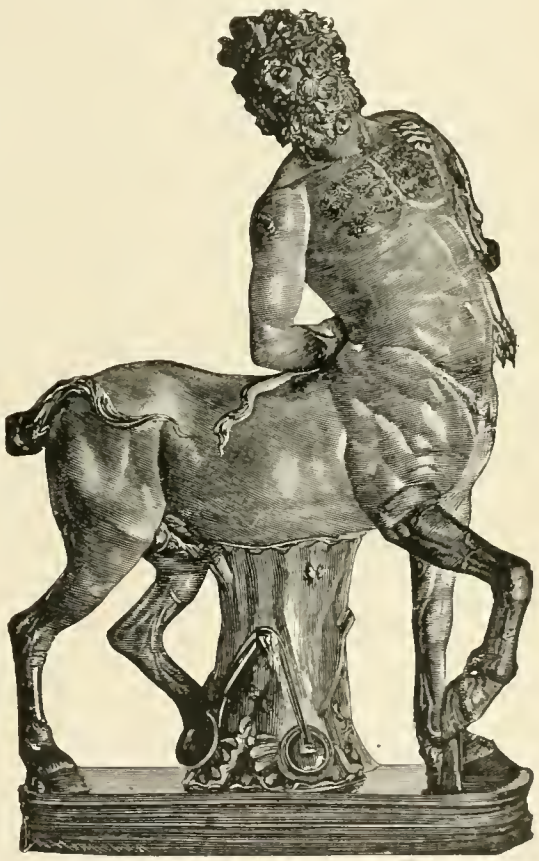
Humanity rises to Olympus and sits on the summit.

A pure and natural humanity was in it all. Even the powerful influences of Egypt and the East could hardly introduce into Greek life any other than human elements. All the gods of the Greeks are human. They are never creatures with double heads and multiple arms. The winged and mythological monsters of the East were hardly accepted by the Greeks. One may discern in the latter days of Greek art a total abandonment of the monstrous and unnatural element. The Centaur, the Minotaur, and all manner of dragons disappear, while a pure humanity rises and sits even on the summit of Olympus. What should be thought if Phidias had given wings to his Pallas Athena, or four arms to his statue of Zeus Olympios?

Even the religion of the Greeks—which we come now briefly to consider—was a species of natural philosophy. It may well be doubted whether the term "religious" is not misapplied when it is used in definition of any of the practices or beliefs of the Greeks.

Greek religion a species of natural philosophy.

No race of men has existed without a certain ethical constitution; but this



THE CENTAUR.

does not extend to what the languages of the West call religion. The latter implies the recognition of a god or gods, makers and givers of life and of all benefits, to whom the race of man is bound (*religio*, a binding) by certain ties of morality, duty, and affection. Natural ethics has to do with the duties and obligations of man to man.

The Greeks, in common with the other divisions of the Aryan race, had a fund of theology. It is claimed by a certain group of modern scholars that the primitive religious views of the Aryans were based upon the recognition

Absence of spirituality in the Greek theology.

APOLLO

of a single heaven-father, with whom were associated other divine and spiritual powers in the administration of nature and of man. There are intimations, derivable mostly from philology, that this theory of the old-time religion of our race is founded in fact. But if so, the theory descended in the horizon of the Greeks to the level of earth. One might seek in vain in the literature of the Greeks for the presence of a belief that their gods were spiritual beings at all. Of course they were living beings, and were immortal; but the Greek thought of his god as a material entity, a physical organic being even as himself —only greater, mightier, more sublime. Beyond this the mind of the Greek refused to go. It took no cognizance of spiritual entities outside of living forms.

One must needs be surprised to note how completely the intellectual and spiritual life, the moral qualities and dispositions, the moods and passions of the Greek were by him projected into his gods. In nowise was the god better than the man—only stronger and immortal. We might look in vain among the whole Olympian hierarchy for a single moral attribute above the level

The Greek transferred himself to his deities.

ARTEMIS

of the average human concepts of the people who lived below. Even as far back as the days of Homer, this humanization had been complete—if indeed it had ever been anything better. Whenever the epic bard speaks of the gods,

RELIGION OF THE GREEKS.—On the Temple Steps.—From the painting by Poynter.

he does so in a tone of gentle mockery —mere description, such as a skeptic of modern times might use in describing the beings of mythology. In no single element of his theology was there a divine order, a heavenly government in anywise above the level of the average morality of the Greek.

All was on the level of human nature and frailty. Take the case of Zeus. That almighty potentate had *perfumed locks*. He was guilty of all manner of unlawful loves; but to the Greek the guilt was no more heinous than average mortal eccentricity. The comic poet might mock at the inconstancy and infidelities of Jove, but never thought of denouncing them as sins. Hera was as jealous of her mighty lord as any Athenian beauty might be of an inconstant husband. Aphrodite was as false as she was fair. Hermes was a common liar. Hephæstus was *lame*. Poseidon was consumed with enmity and revenge. Dionysus was a drunkard, and Heracles a glutton from infancy. All the passions and vices of the earth and the cloud-land were mixed together; and as to morality, men were even as the gods. Heaven was as full of quarrels, of bickerings, and perfidy as the earth was full of uproar, falsehood, and treason.

The gods of Olympus are even as men and women.

Yet the gods were mighty. They were, moreover, deeply interested in the affairs of earth. They concerned themselves constantly with the doings of men, and drew with vindictive precision the lines of good and evil. Indeed, it was impossible that they should do otherwise. They themselves were held, in common with men, under the inexorable tyranny of Fate. This fate was the highest concept of the Greek race. Fate was the absolute. Under the scepter of fate the gods performed their part in the universal scheme. It was their part to reward and punish—reward for the thing called virtue, and punish for the thing called vice.

The deities are great but fated like mortals.

This distinction the nature of man must always recognize. However shifting and uncertain may be the lines which bound the theological landscape, however vacillating the definitions which are found in the mortal vocabulary for certain specific acts, the deep-down bottom difference between right and wrong stands fast and will not be moved. This difference the Greeks recognized. So also did the gods above them. Men must conform, therefore, to the moral law such as it was. Did they not, the wrath of the immortals was kindled against them. Did they not, the Eumenides, those sharp avengers of evil doing, were ever at the gate; aye, they were ever at the threshold, even at the elbow of mortal life, ready to inflict the penalty for all misdeeds. True, they were very patient. They were not in haste. The immortals had no need to be in haste. The visitation for crime might well wait until a convenient season. *Then* the punishment would come. Then the swift and avenging bolt would fall upon the offender.

Concept of right and wrong stands fast forever.

It thus happened that the Greeks found a place for a scheme of morality. There was a belief among the people in the laws of right and wrong and in the fidelity of the gods to reward virtue and heroism, to punish vice and weakness. Therefore, there was room even for prayer and for sacrifice. He who prayed might influence the gods to hasten their purposes, to come on with their benefits, to restrain their anger. To this end

Theory of prayer; in early days the gods draw near.

there was an altar, a place of offering, a temple. Such things were beneficial to the individual, to the household, to the state. Thereby the gods were made auspicious. There the chaotic affairs of life were brought to order. Good was brought down from on high, and the evil below was put away.

In the early days the deities were more familiar with men than in after times. At several places in Greece the gods had haunts and abiding places. At the foot of Parnassus Apollo loved to dwell. There was his Delphic oracle. There, from the rift in the rock, came the inspiring power which made the Pythia drunken with the divine afflatus. A close union existed between the natural and the supernatural fact. The great Zeus loved the gnarled oaks of Dodona, and joined his voice with the solemn voice of the wind moaning among the branches. The gods were not far off and high, but even at the door. While it was not a worship of nature, it was the worship of beings who were in sympathy with nature and sought out natural abodes as their favorite dwelling places. As a result, the religious affections of the Greeks were strongly localized. There were centers of the divine presence in certain parts of the country, and to these the religious beliefs and sympathies of the people were drawn by as strong bonds as the Greeks were capable of bearing.

PARNASSUS.—After a sketch of F. E. Blackstone.

Another peculiarity of the Hellenic religious system was still more marked and persistent. This was the absence of a priesthood. No other people of an equal degree of development have been so free from the presence and interference of a priestly order. Among the Greeks every man was his own priest. Doubtless this was due in a certain de-

Absence of priesthood; officials of the temple.

gree to the strong individualism and democracy of the race. It is not meant that there were no Greek priests. About the temples there must needs be a retinue of officials, and these must be conversant with religious rites and doctrines. In some few instances the priestly office was transmitted in families, but it was only such heredity as might be seen in the transmission of the artistic or commercial instincts through several generations.

VICTIMS FOR SACRIFICE.—Drawn by L. Otto, from the original reliefs of the Panathenaïc procession, in British Museum.

Sometimes the Greek found it convenient to offer his sacrifices and make his prayers by proxy, and in such cases he employed a priest; but there was never any abdication of his own rights in the premises. Every Greek offered his prayers and sacrifices when and as he would. There was, of course, a national canon, a ritual, a doctrine, which the worshiper must follow; and any departure from the common standard was likely to be visited with severity. Secular society stood guard over the orthodoxy of the people; and any departure from the authorized standards was likely to entail great mischief on the offender. Such things were sure to be buzzed about in the market and agora. A question of the kind, especially if the heretic were a distinguished personage, gave the average Greek demagogue his best hold. In such cases superstition and prejudice were freely invoked, and the consequences were usually disastrous. One of the few melancholy aspects of Greek civilization was to see the greatest minds cowering under the dominion of that common thrall and scourge wherewith all the nations of antiquity and most peoples of modern times as well have been lashed and whipped into silence.

System of orthodoxy maintained by popular belief.

But no other people of antiquity were so free in the observances of their religion as were the Greeks. Religiously speaking, every man's house was his castle. There, before the altar of Vesta, the newborn child was named. It was a religious ceremony. So also was

THE DELPHIC PYTHIA ENRAPT.

marriage, and so were the rites of the funeral. It must not be thought that the Greeks were an irreligious race. No people have had a greater multiplicity of gods, and few societies have been more permeated with the details of worship than was that of Attica. Still, the life of nature rose dominant over the life of ceremonial, and the Greek continued as he had been from the first, the product of physical forces rather than the molded offspring of superstitious beliefs.

Freedom in religious ceremony; nature above tradition.

It is not the place to enter into the details of the Greek ceremonial. Men prayed. They offered sacrifices of fruit and wine and milk and oil and honey and cakes. Sometimes the worshiper stood before the altar fire and threw in handfuls of parched barley. Animals, too, were sacrificed and offered to the hungry deities. The deep sense of beauty here again found expression. The most perfect animal must be selected for the altar. Old Nestor, of the heroic age, was not satisfied with the bullock he brought until the horns were elegantly gilded. Wreaths of leaves and flowers were put about the heads and necks of the victims. Even their slaughter was made as little repulsive as possible. The slain animal was flayed, and the thighs offered on the altar. The remainder of the offering was eaten by the worshipers and the priests under the common ancient notion of sharing the feast with the immortals.

Prayers and sacrifices; beauty of ceremonial.

Among most of the ancient races professional prophets had a place. Perhaps no class of officials were more powerful in Semitic communities than were the old foretellers who revealed the future. With the Aryan races the prophetical office was less esteemed, but by no means neglected. Among the Greeks the business of foreknowing and foretelling things to come took a remarkable development. The wisdom of the future was given forth from oracles; and priests who received from the divinities the mysterious message were never regarded as other than mere transmitters of a knowledge which was as much above themselves as above the inquirers who stood without the temple.

The prophetical office and the oracles.

There was among the Greeks a belief in the verity of these revelations. The strangest feature in connection with the oracular method of gaining wisdom was that woman was always employed as the immediate agent of intercourse with the gods. As far back as the heroic age, the Prophetess Cassandra gained an immortal fame at Troy. There, at the Thymbrian shrine of Apollo, she communicated with the god and learned from him the mysteries of the future.

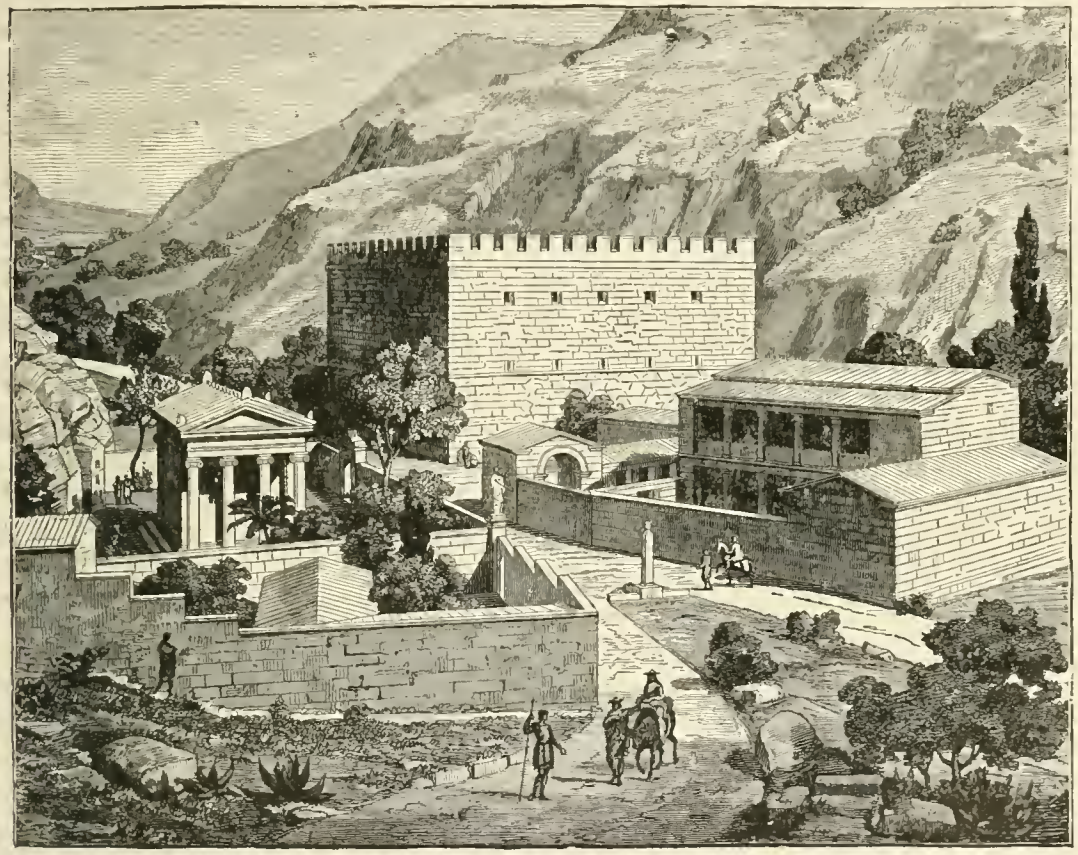
Why women became the medium of inspiration.

The like office of woman in Greece was illustrated in the Pythia of the Delphic oracle. The acute understanding may perceive in all this a bottom and outline of real reason. The highly wrought nervous organization of woman, her susceptibility to impressions, and the easy excitation of her whole being even to the pitch of frenzy, are facts as universal as the history of the race. The discerning Greeks, therefore, sought by means of this most delicate human instrument to catch, as in the strings of an Æolian harp, the soft, low melodies and mysterious whispers of the invisible world. At the same time they refused to woman the right and ability to interpret the utterances of her own lips, the sighings of her own distracted spirit. The male priests listened with attentive and rational ear to the half-articulate murmurs of the frantic Pythia, and

themselves gave fitting form—as well as fallacious expression—to the dubious revelations of her lips.

Satirical and mocking spirit of the Greeks.

One of the peculiarities of Greek life was the prevalence of satire in all its parts. The Greek mood was one of jocularity, and the disposition found expression in the whole gamut of hilarity from the small whiff of fun to the bitterest sarcasm of which the human brain and tongue are capable. Not satisfied with secular affairs, the satirical spirit made its way into the precincts of theology. Sad was the havoc among even the sacred things of religion. The Greek would have his laugh, even at the expense of the gods. It was difficult for him to be serious even at the altar and in the presence of the sacrifice. There was nothing in the three worlds upon which the comic poets would not lay their hands in mockery. They mocked at Jove. They mocked at all the gods. They mocked at religious ceremonies. They mocked at the priests. Everything which according to the phraseology of the serious would be called sacred was held up alive on the barbed spearheads of irony and sarcasm. The other Greeks all laughed at the spectacle. It does not appear that this universal satire, the sacrilege of all holy things, extended to bitterness and hatred, but that it rather satisfied itself with the effervescence of half-innocent laughter. After the mockery was done the ceremonial proceeded. It was not mimicry, not the



THE GREEK MYSTERIES.—Road from Eleusis to Athens—Temple of Aphrodite to the Left.—Drawn by J. Buhlmann.

holding up to ridicule of the sacred traditions of the race, but skepticism and departure from the established standards of religious belief and practice that brought upon the offender the chastisement of popular vengeance.

BACCHANALS.—From the Borghese vase in the Louvre.

The Greek mind did not much busy itself with the abstruse and difficult matters of religion. What mystery there was related rather to the inscrutable processes of the natural world than to the profounder entities of the spiritual universe. With respect to the interpretation of nature —the explication of the physical mysteries of birth and growth and death —the Greek mind was keenly alive, and many forms were devised whereby the better to express the occult phenomena of the material world. Among these were the pageants and spectacles to which the Greeks gave the name of mysteries. No other people have been more keenly sensitive to the force and expressiveness of spectacular representations than were the witty and excitable Greeks.

Indifference of Greek mind to theoretical religion.

Two of the mysteries which they instituted are worthy of special note. The feast of Dionysus was celebrated in Attica with great eclat. The ceremony was a revel. Dionysus was the god of the vine and the wine cup. He had come from the far East. Doubtless his was another name for that Soma whom the Indic-Aryans worshiped. The myth represented him as a joyful god, bearing the features of a woman for softness, reckless in demeanor, glancing with languishing looks at his worshipers. He was the giver of good cheer, the bringer of inspiration. His power extended over the wild creatures of the hills and jungle. Tigers, lions, and panthers grew tame under his magical influence. They followed like faithful dogs attending his steps or drew his chariot on the way. Thus he came into Attica. The

The Hellenic mysteries; Dionysus and his rout.

myth gave form to the ceremony. Men dressed themselves in the garb of animals. Pans, Satyrs, and Sileni, clad each after his kind, joined in the procession. The crowds danced as they came. The Mænads and Bacchantes garlanded themselves with vine leaves and ivy. They wrapped their bodies with the skins of fawns, and sang wild songs as they danced about the car of the conquering god.

Eleusis and the Panathenaïc festival.

About twelve miles eastward from Athens was the sacred city of Eleusis. The mysteries celebrated at this place have been recounted in all lands, yet they have not been well apprehended in their sense and form. At bottom the ceremony was a pageant, to which all of the Greeks were invited. There was a great march, led by musicians and dancers, from Athens to Eleusis; but the procession must not arrive until after nightfall. At the latter city Pericles had caused to be erected a temple suitable for the celebration of the mysteries. There was a great hall, surrounded with a colonnade, large enough to contain the initiates, who only were permitted to witness the secret ceremonies. These had respect to the legend of the loss and finding of Persephone. She was the daughter of Demeter, the Earth, and was lost from her mother. The latter mourned and sought for her child, who was at last discovered. She had been taken down to Hades, and had been married to that dark god of the underworld. So there was a contest between the loving mother and the gloomy husband—then a compromise, in accordance with which Persephone could remain one half of the year at her old home with Demeter, and the other half in the dolor of her husband's abode deep down.

Signification of the myth of Persephone.

It was the story of life. Persephone was Life, born out of the Earth, warm and beautiful in springtime, dying and disappearing in autumn, lost in winter, and recovered again with the returning spring. The mysteries illustrated and exemplified the loss and refinding of Persephone. The ceremonies extended beyond the mere natural aspect of the appearance and recession of life in the visible outer world to the profounder

DEMETER AND PERSEPHONE, WITH A YOUTH OF ATHENS.

mysteries of procreation, of birth, of growth, and decay. These occult wonders of nature were only revealed with care and in the deep shadows of night to the few who had risen from initiation to the deeper secrets of the cult. Perhaps a veil would better be drawn over the whole, lest some of the revolting mysteries of the East might be rediscovered in the ceremony of the Greeks.

Here again we see the complete protection of the natural life of the Greek race into the religious beliefs and practices of the people. The gods were even as men. Their habits were the same.

The Greeks and their gods are at one.

GREEK SLAVE GIRLS AT THE FOUNTAIN.
Drawn by E. Klimsch.

They gave way to passion, drunkenness, orgy, just as did their human worshipers. It must ever remain a marvel that any moral force could be imposed by such a system on a people given up by nature to the hilarity and recklessness of freedom. It should be borne in mind, however, that the religious feasts, with their accompanying abandonment and spells, returned only at intervals. It was a time in which the natural man might be for the nonce turned loose from the restraints under which his everyday life was placed. It is in evidence that this license was hailed and accepted by all classes of Greeks as a time of deliverance from the tyranny of custom and of return to that wild freedom of nature which was always preferred by the instincts of the race. Men, women, children, the old, the young, even bondmen and servants, looked with delight to the approaching festival, when all alike should resume the liberties and recover the reckless joys of the natural man. It is perhaps true that if at any time the Greeks actually cherished feelings of love and affection for their deities, it was when the day arrived for them to regain by the temporary concession of the immortals the license of the old tribal life, when the unbridled desires of each were his only criterion of action.

We should not expect to find the vices and sins incident to mortal life much curbed by the influences of such a system as that prevalent among the Greeks. In the first place, the ceremonial of the national religion was in a large degree perfunctory. The Greek did not much believe in his own system. He had no faith. He thought it best, in view of

Slight restraint of religion; a Greek prays.

the dubious conditions of human life, to stand on the safe side and to *admit* the verity of the gods and the justice of their reign; but he did not much *believe* in either. If we could enter the penetralia of the Greek mind in the times which we are here contemplating and look outward as the Greek himself looked, recognizing with him such duties and obligations as he was able to perceive, and going with him through the formulæ of his religious system, we should perhaps find him worshiping under the influences of the following sentiments: O ye Deities, who live on great Olympus! ye are said to be. Our fathers have believed in you, and therefore we may well believe. Ye are gods, and we are men. Ye are greater than we, and we have cause to fear. Let us be at one with you. Here are our prayers. Here also are our gifts, our offerings, our sacrifices. We make them that ye may be satisfied. We know you to be wise and crafty. Certain it is that ye always triumph in your contests with mortals. It is in vain for man to try to beat the gods. We pray you, therefore, to look upon us as friends. Give us your protection. See that our cause prevails. Keep evil from us. Let all evil fall upon our enemies. We Greeks are your friends and worshipers. Ye are our gods, and have been for a long time. Accept, therefore, our offering. Give us plenty. Make us strong. Keep our houses from burning. Make the olive orchards grow, and save our ships on the deep sea.—Such we may well conceive to have been the thoughts of the Greeks in worship.

We may easily perceive that a people influenced by a religious system such as that of the Greeks would, in their evolution, show many evidences of moral weakness. The fact answers to the inference; for the Greeks, without being a gross and vulgarly licentious race, were in many respects profoundly immoral in their practices. The thoughtful student may perceive in them an element of heartlessness and of cruelty that causes pain even in the retrospect. The Greeks were slaveholders. Slavery abounded, even in the streets of Athens. The baleful shadow was in the agora and the pnyx and the Bouleterion. Between the long walls leading from the Piræus to the city droves of slaves might be seen all day long, toiling at their tasks, building, delving, bearing merchandise on their shoulders, attending their lordly masters as they went up and down to sell and get gain. Around almost every Greek house was a retinue of slaves. They were bought and sold without compunction. Their condition was like that of horses that might be well kept and fed for the sake of their service.

Moral weakness of the Greek race; slavery.

The slave was the chattel of his master. The slave had no rights and few privileges. He was under close surveillance, and was subject to every abuse and hardship. His very life was his master's. Nor does the latter ever seem to have been morally affected by the pitiable condition of the former. In a thousand other ways the absence of the tender humanities was painfully noticeable in Greek society. There has never been any other human arena in which the natural forces were turned loose with so little restriction, and the cold law of the survival of the fittest left to work out its own moral results with so little hindrance, as in the commonwealth of Attica. It was a purely natural life of man, and the inevitable result of the existing order was to evolve a few leading

Notable absence of humane feelings among the Greeks.

elements of character to the highest degree of perfection at the expense of morality and all the tender affections and hopeful loves of the heart.

Résumé of the development of the Greek race.

We have thus attempted to sketch in outline the general character of the Greek race. We have seen that race emerging from the tribal condition when the forces of life were for a season all engaged in compassing from nature a supply of food. We have seen the reäction of the environment and the extreme vigor of growth exhibited by the people rising into the conscious state. We have noted the heroic epoch, with its accompaniments of battle and song. We have looked into the relation of the sexes as the same was determined among the primitive Greeks, and have watched the evolution of the household with the subjection of woman. We have considered that vast and beautiful instrument, the Greek language, and have noted something of its effects upon the people who employed it in intercourse. We have considered the technology and arts of the Greeks, most wonderful even from their incipiency and sublime in their climax. We have endeavored to depict the political systems employed by the several branches of the Greek family. Last of all, we have noted the religious aspects of the people, considering both the subjective concepts and the objective expression of the national faith.

Descent of the Greek character and genius.

The Greek character, as a whole, resulted from a combination of all these facts and forces. It was unique not only among the nations of the ancient world but in all history. The intellectual preeminence of the man of Hellas has been one of the leading facts which historians and philosophers have had to consider. Whatever may have been the antecedent causes of this wonderful intellectual development, the fact remains. The Greek mind is conspicuous and bright above the gloom and chaos of the ancient world. It has reached out with its magical fingers over all subsequent ages and countries, and is likely to remain a constant force in human society even to the end of days. The wit, the insight, the reason, the imagination, the vivid perception of all natural and rational phenomena, the ability to combine existing concepts, and to deduce an infinity of knowledge, were all displayed by the Greek in the beauty and grandeur of power unequaled by the mental activity of any other people. It is not too much to say that the Greeks have dictated the laws of right reason and a large part of the subject-matter of thought to every great race of men, and that their fervid poetry, profound philosophy, and glorious art have furnished the prime examples of excellence, each in its kind, for all subsequent thinkers and doers of the human race. The Greeks still live in the intellect of mankind.

CHAPTER LIII.—THE MODERN GREEKS.

EVEN an incidental knowledge of ancient history will have shown the reader how difficult it is to trace the processes by which the races of antiquity were gradually transformed into the races of modern times. From the fifth to the fifteenth century of our era was a period sufficiently gloomy in the general destinies of mankind. In most of its aspects it appeared retrogressive; in most of its events it gave little ground for an optimistic view of human affairs and of their tendencies.

During this period the ethnic and historical features of the ancient world were erased, and a new physiognomy was determined for mankind. It might be said that all Europe was transformed into another mood and tense. The old things disappeared, the old forms of society vanished. The ancient customs —regarded for centuries as the sacred methods of social and political intercourse—gave place to other usages out of the shaggy loins of barbarism. Of all parts of the European continent, the East held out longest. The capital chosen by Constantine, and established by his successors, remained the nucleus of civilization; and, as the outposts fell away, the forces which represented the ancient order were drawn in until the civilized world had for its boundaries the walls of Constantinople.

Ancient Europe transformed in the Middle Ages.

When the Roman world was divided by Theodosius, Greece and the Greek race fell in the Eastern division and passed to Arcadius as a part of his inheritance. Meanwhile the Hellenic race had been through several periods of transformation. Greece had been first a Roman province of the republic from 145 B. C. until the Cæsarian epoch. After that the same rule had continued under the empire down to the days of Constantine, at the beginning of the fourth century. It was from this time that the division between an East and a West, between a Rome and a Constantinople, was recognized. From the reign of Constantine to that of Leo III, a period of four hundred years, Greece remained a province of the East.

Historical vicissitudes of Greece and the Greek race.

In the meantime the only serious ethnic shock which the Hellenic race had suffered was from the Gothic invasions, at the middle of the third century of our era. The walls of Athens were repaired, and the Isthmus refortified by the Athenians with a vigor which would have done credit to the old Attic race; but the barbarians came in with a flood, and Athens was taken by storm. It was, however, a short-lived triumph. Reïnforcements were hurried from Italy, and in 269 A. D. the Goths were utterly overthrown in the battle of Naissus.

Effects of Gothic invasion; Christianity prevails.

It is to this period that we must refer the incoming of Christianity. It is difficult to say precisely by what means the people were evangelized. The spread of the new religion seems to have been gradual and not accompanied with any phenomenal manifestations. It permeated at first the lower orders of society, and gradually worked its way up to the wealthy and philosophical classes. All this preceded the accession of Constan-

VIEW IN THE IONIAN ISLANDS.—Santa Maura.—Drawn by Charles W. Wyllie.

tine the Great. After that event the course of affairs in the Grecian peninsula ran with comparative smoothness until 361, when the country was disturbed by the attempt of Julian to restore paganism. Seventeen years afterwards Christianity was formally proclaimed as the religion of the empire by Theodosius. The Theodosian code was accepted at the close of this century—the fourth—by the Greeks, and may be regarded as the subsequent civil constitution of the Greek people.

Monogamy enforced by the Christian teachers.

The Hellenic race appears to have been peculiarly affected by the Christian religion, and it can not be doubted that no small infusion of new life and energy resulted from the supplanting of paganism. The social system was in large measure renovated. The Roman Christians brought over and enforced monogamy as the law of the state; and the Bosphorus was henceforth for several centuries the western limit of the polygamous practices of Asia.

Greece affected by barbarian invasions.

It was during the period now under consideration, extending from 323 to 716 A. D., that the great barbarian invasions occurred, under the impact of which the Western empire of the Romans went down into night. In the reign of Arcadius, the first emperor of the East, Alaric, at the head of the Goths, set out for the conquest of Europe. But before beginning his wars in the West he ravaged the whole of Greece. In the middle of the following century Attila, with his Huns, desolated the country south of the Danube. He forced the Emperor Theodosius II to pay an annual tribute as the price of exemption. It is believed that in 475, before Theodoric the Great began his great march at the head of the Visigoths, he seriously contemplated the conquest of Greece. The peninsular character of the country and its small extent saved it somewhat from the general deluge of barbarism which swept across the Danube and the Rhine, rolling into Western Europe. At times Bulgarian and Slavonic tribes pressed upon Northern Greece, to the great distress of the people. At one epoch the Servians and the Croatians occupied Dal-

EMPEROR CONSTANTINE.

matia and Illyricum. These people, however, had the agricultural instinct, quickly settled into permanency, and assented to dependency on the Eastern empire.

There were, however, in this long period of disturbance and tumult many short intervals of peace and comparative prosperity among the Hellenic populations. In the heart of the Dark Ages

the Eastern emperors continued to draw from Greece to their courts the little genius which the world still possessed. flooded Central Europe. In course of time a new enemy appeared on the horizon. Islam became a specter on the side

ATTILA ON THE FUNERAL PYRE AFTER HIS OVERTHROW BY AETIUS.

The ancient ideal and intellectual supremacy of the Greek race did not wholly give place to the barbarism which had of Egypt and Asia Minor. But the religion of the desert was afraid of the water. The sea held the followers of the

Prophet at bay, and they beat up against the eastern limits of the Ægean until they found a strait narrow enough to afford an easy crossing into Europe. The student of history will not fail to note that Mohammedanism has attained its only two footholds in Europe by stepping over the Bosphorus and the straits of Gibraltar. The unaided eye easily reaches across either of these channels to the opposite shore. The Saracens of the Dark Ages would never have attempted the invasion of Europe if Asia Minor and Africa had not virtually touched the continent in the two places referred to.

Intervals of repose; Islam kept at bay by the sea.

In course of time the Turcomans on the Bosphorus prevailed. They crossed over to Europe. They encircled Constantinople. They beat about the walls until the terrified Constantine XIII gave up in despair, and the crescent was lifted above the dome of St. Sophia. Greece and the Greek race gave way under the impact, and Mohammedanism continued its spread to the borders of Russia on the north and Hungary on the west. It was the last of many foreign dominations which were to precede the emergence of the modern Greeks. Brunet de Presle, in his work on mediæval and modern Greece, has, on the title page, virtually summarized the vicissitudes through which the Hel-

Extinction of Eastern empire and rise of the crescent.

PINDUS MOUNTAINS.—View of Trikhali.—Drawn by A. Kohl.

lenic race passed from before the Christian era down to modern times. The work is entitled *Greece—Roman, Byzantine, Turk, and Regenerate.*

ALBANIAN PEASANTS OF GLOSSE—TYPES.
Drawn by E. Ronjat, after a sketch of H. Belle.

Analysis of the present Greek populations.

With the opening of the drama of modern history we discover in Greece three distinct races representative of her ancient people. These are the modern Greeks, the Albanians, and the Wallachians. Of the latter people, who are descended from a Latin stock, we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. Their habitation is on the mountainous bordersof Northwestern Greece, next to the modern kingdom of Roumania, from which, indeed, they have spread into the broken country of the Pindus. Until comparatively recent times they were a numerous and powerful group of half-civilized tribes, who as late as 1851 were estimated at fifty thousand. They speak not only their own tongue, the Valch, or Roumania, but also modern Greek. More recently they have for the most part become assimilated with the Greek race, and at present only a remnant of the Wallachian stock remains within the borders of what was ancient Greece. Our attention, therefore, for the present will be directed to the two greater peoples, the modern Greeks and the Albanians.

The Greeks speak a language derived from the ancient Attic. They claim a descent from the old Hellenic race, and the evidence of their speech, their features, their manners, and customs, all tend to the verification of the claim. It can not be denied, however, that in parts of the country the inhabitants appear to be the descendants of the Slavonians—who, under the influence of the Byzantine empire, were transformed into a Hellenic type—rather than ethnic representatives of the true Greeks of antiquity. Taking a general survey of the character and distribution of the three peoples of modern Greece, we find them manifestly the descendants, in general terms, of the three races by which the country was populated in antiquity. The Greeks are the offspring of an Attic and Doric ancestry. The Albanians are the representatives of the old Illyrian stock, and the Wallachians of the Thracians.

Modern Greeks the descendants of the three ancient races.

It may be thought fanciful thus to identify the three modern peoples with the three ancient races who held approximately the same territories, but the facts give warrant to the hypothesis. The extreme persistency of mankind in clinging to the soil, in growing fast, so to speak, in certain localities, and holding on through generations and centuries, must have been noticed by all who have given even casual attention to ethnographic and historical subjects. Nothing human can surpass the tenacity of a given people in clinging to its favorite territory. No shock or convulsion of the natural world, no catastrophe of war and conquest, no dreadful visitation of pestilence and famine can loosen the hold of a people upon the locality which it has chosen under the influence of race instincts. True it is that in course of time the passion may come for migration, and the race will, under its influence, be as pertinacious in its disposition to move as it has hitherto been obstinate in holding to a given locality.

Persistency of peoples in clinging to localities.

In observing the progress and dispersion of peoples into foreign parts we sometimes fail to consider the human residuum which is left behind. The adventurous part goes forth under some hope of betterment or love of vicissitude. But the unadventurous remains in the original seat, and the void is soon filled with new generations who have, by the force of heredity, more conservative instincts than those who have gone into foreign regions. If we take the case of a single family and observe its history, we shall find in the same an epitome of all that may be said of a tribe or of a people. It is a family, let us say, of a father and mother, six sons and four daughters. Two of the sons go abroad by adventure. A barbarian foray in the settlement results in the killing of the father and one son. One other son and two of the daughters are carried into captivity. But the remaining two sons and two daughters hold fast. In the very next generation the two sons head two families bearing the ancestral name, planting themselves within a mile of the paternal home, and the two daughters become by marriage the mothers in two other households not five miles away. In the course of three generations the lineal descendants of the original father number seventy, one half of whom bear the ancestral name, and all of whom are more ardently devoted to the locality than if disaster and death had never visited it.

Tho disposition of races to hold localities illustrated.

So also of the tribe, and in a larger sense of the people. History is full of

MANNERS OF THE MODERN GREEKS.—Festival Dance of Saint Anna.—Drawn by F. Lix, after a sketch of H. Belle.

illustrations of a given race which has clung persistently from generation to generation to some unauspicious region, exposed to every hazard and hardship that imagination could picture or nature and man invent. It is from this point of view that we are able to understand how a residual element of the ancient Greek race in Attica and the neighboring states always continued in the favorite locality, always increasing and filling up the spaces vacated by war and disaster, always maintaining with less foreign admixture than we might suppose the original stock and character of the race.

Persistency of the race remnant in holding its place.

Thus also in Illyria we may see the ancient frontiersmen and backwoodsmen of the Hellenic race, shaggy rustics of Epirus and Ætolia, persisting in their residence, leaving ever a residue of the original race in the original locality, surviving every wreck and invasion, until the ancient stock reäppears at last, in modern times, in the Albanian race. The same thing has been going on in nearly all parts of the earth, preserving in some measure in every locality at least a certain percentage of its primitive population.

It may be said that the modern Greeks, as distinguished from the Albanians and Wallachians, have their center in the Peloponnesus. Laconia holds two of the most Grecian of all modern tribes. These are the Mainotes and the Tshakones, who speak a peculiar dialect of Greek and have little intercourse with their neighbors. The Mainotes have been celebrated for their personal beauty by all travelers who have visited Greece, even in the present century. The modern Greek girl of Laconia might well be mistaken for the Dorian maiden of the heroic ages. During the long and disgraceful domination by the Turks, these Mainote descendants of the ancient race have virtually maintained their independence. For generations they have made their houses into keeps, from which they have defended themselves against the aggressions of their enemies. But the Greek race—the modern Greeks—extends into several of the central and northern states, and the capital, politically as well as socially, is Athens.

Centers of modern Greek development.

The principal inquiry with which the ethnographer and historian are concerned as it relates to the Greeks of to-day is to what extent they have preserved the temper and characteristics of their great ancestry. On this point authorities are far from agreement. Contrary views have been strenuously maintained as though partisan prejudice were at the bottom of the difference of opinion. In the first place, it may be said that the modern Greeks have preserved to a great degree the quickness of perception and the alertness of activity of their ancestors. They appear to be fully as inquisitive, as eager to find out new things, as adroit as were the Greeks of the classical ages. They also have the same disposition to debate and to wrangle, even over trifles. In general, the eagerness of the people to learn, to extend and vary their information, is a predominant characteristic which, since the country was liberated—to a certain extent—from the tyranny of the Turks, has wrought wonderful results in the improvement of the Greek race.

To what extent modern Greeks preserve ancient traits.

Another characteristic which has been preserved is that cunning and subtlety, that finesse and stratagem for which the old Greeks were proverbial in all time. No doubt this disposition has

Intellectual qualities of old Greeks repeated in the moderns.

been intensified by the oppression and cruelties to which the people have been subjected by their foreign masters. It has been noted, too, that the modern

MODERN GREEK TYPE—WOMAN OF MANTOUDI.
Drawn by E. Ronjat, after a sketch of H. Belle.

Greeks have, even in times of discouragement and disaster, that same reviving cheerfulness, that quick reäction of spirits for which their ancestors were noted, and which has made the modern Greek character an analogue of the French.

In person and physique the Greeks have preserved to a considerable extent the qualities of their ancestry. They are tall and well formed—not heavy like the Germans and other peoples of Western Europe, but sinewy, active. The face is oval, the nose long and arched, the eyes bright, and the expression animated. It is said that an obese person is rarely or never seen in Greece. In bodily movement, in erectness, in the elastic step, which is preserved even to the age of seventy, the Greek of to-day is the fitting representative of his Hellenic ancestry. In parts of Morea and in the islands of the Ægean these bodily characteristics are exhibited in the highest perfection, and he who wanders about at will through the streets of a town or along the highways in the country place will meet among the people many examples of a physical beauty and perfection so highly developed that, as one has said, they might have been used for models by Phidias.

Physical characteristics of the modern Greeks.

In another respect the modern race is a perfect antitype of the original. The Old Greeks knew nothing of the morose, melancholy spirit, and their descendants have the same freedom from the downcast mood and forbidding disposition. Either a certain instinct in the race, a certain innate optimism of character, preserves it from gloominess and grief, or else the climate and physical environment of Greece are such as to make moroseness and gloom impossible in the people inhabiting this peninsula and these islands. It was noted in ancient times that no Greek committed suicide, none became insane; and the same facts are present in the Greece of to-day. In-

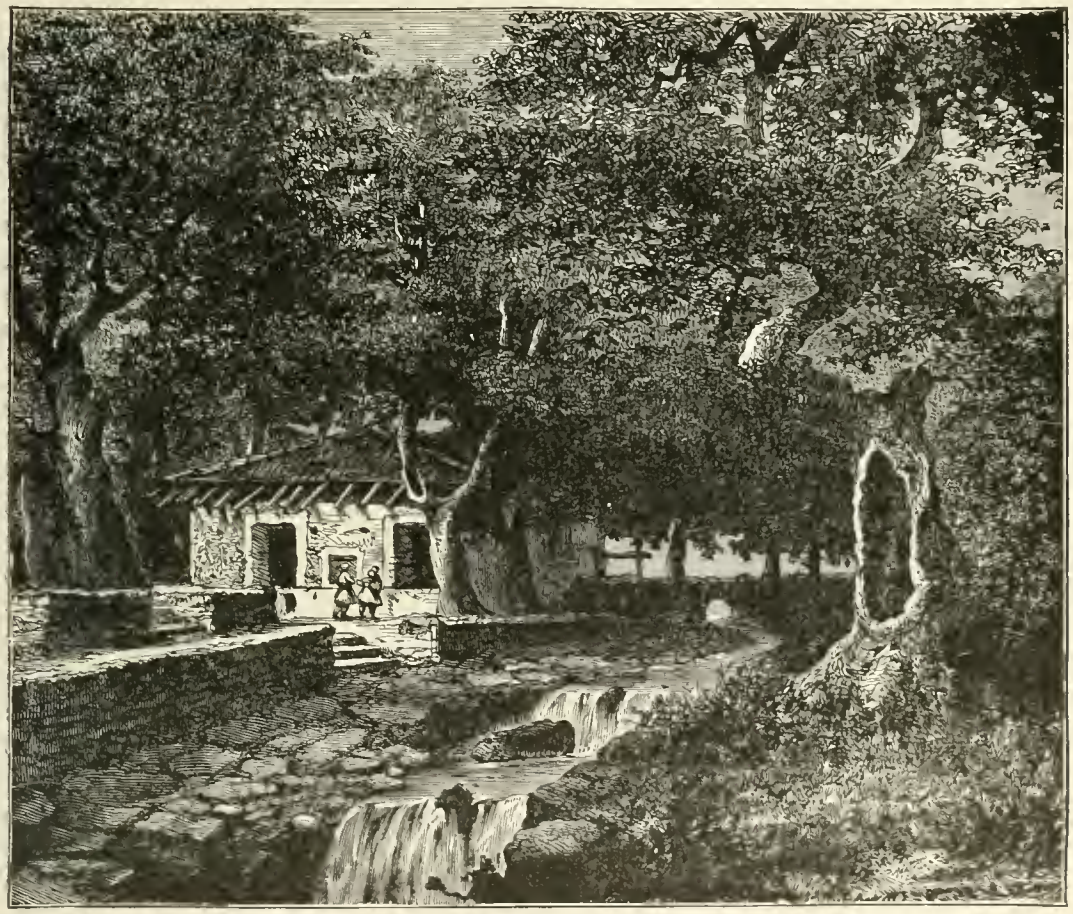
Jocularity and optimism reäppear in the descendent race.

sanity is an unknown circumstance; and the reasons for living so far outweigh the reasons for dying that no one takes his own life.

Other cheering particulars may be cited in the character of the modern Greeks. They are the most temperate people of all Europe. In fact, inebriety is unknown in the country. Wine is produced in large quantities not only for export but for home consumption; but no Greek drinks to drunkenness. Excess in food is equally unknown. The few exceptions emphasize the law of sobriety. Even in the few instances where the drunken habit is discovered it is almost invariably found among foreigners.

Temperance and chastity of the people.

In still another respect modern Greek life is to be commended in the highest degree. Chastity is wellnigh universal. There is no other Christian country in which the sexual relation is guarded by so high a sentiment as in Greece. The institution of marriage appears to be afflicted with but few of the evils which attend it in most of the Western countries. In the states of Europe generally the percentage of illegitimate birth ranges from three to twenty-two. In Greece the highest rate is one and four tenths per cent. This peculiarly cheering fact in Greek society appears, moreover, to be the result of a certain native instinct and preference, a certain disposition to hold sacred the relation between the



GREEK HOME NEAR MANTOUDI.—Drawn by H. Clerget, after a sketch of H. Belle

sexes, rather than any enforced discipline of law, whether civil or ecclesiastical.

The two prevailing sentiments with the modern Greeks are patriotism and the love of freedom. Both of these feelings amount to passions, and both have manifestly been inherited from the ancient ancestry of the race. In patriotic attachment to their country the Greeks are unrivaled among modern peoples—unless it should be in France. The love for the particular locality where the Greek peasant has his home, his readiness to expose his life in its defense, his zeal in maintaining the interests of his native place, are among the most conspicuous traits of the national character. The love of liberty takes the same democratic form which it had in ancient times. The Greeks seek to be free by being equal. No other people feel so deep an antagonism to artificial distinctions of society as do the Greeks. They will not allow the growth of any class distinctions. They resent with bitterness and violence any assumption of superiority, whether such assumption proceed from wealth, from aristocracy of birth, or any other circumstance. They are exceedingly jealous of even the temporary preëminence of those in office, and are willing that the offices,

AN ARCADIAN DEPUTY—TYPE.
Drawn by E. Ronjat, from a photograph.

Prevailing patriotism and democracy of the modern Greeks.

aye, the crown itself, shall be held by foreigners rather than admit the superiority of any one Greek over his fellows. It is, so far as its instincts are concerned, altogether the most democratic society in Europe or the world.

Hunger of the race for the discipline of schools.

The intellectual hunger of the Greeks has found expression in institutional forms and usages. The disposition to educate is universal. The higher institutions of learning are patronized by the state and enthusiastically supported by the people. There is nothing fictitious about the popular eagerness to attain intellectual development. Modern Greek boys will undergo every discomfort and hardship in order to attend school. No public excitement can distract the attention of the students of the university from their attendance upon recitations and lectures. During the revolution of 1863, when the public mind was in a violent turmoil, when insurrection showed itself on every hard, the young men in attendance on the University of Athens came daily to their classes with the arms of the National Guard in their hands. The hunger for education is felt even by the lowest classes. Servants are seen with books in their hands. Greek stable boys and scullions, in the intervals of their dirty work, study their letters and learn to read and cipher. It is too early as yet to estimate the results which may be presently expected to flow from these dispositions in the people, but the laws of nature and history must be reversed, or at least fatally impeded in their normal action, if a great intellectual career does not open before this people.

During the present century the modern Greeks have given the strongest proof of a national spirit and of their willingness to achieve independence at whatever cost of life and treasure. It is not purposed to recount here the heroic struggle which continued from 1821 to 1829, resulting in the unseating of the Ottoman Turk from his shameful domination in Greece. The story is sufficiently inspiring. The Greek literature of the period has embalmed it, and the philhellenic spirit among all nations has attested the far-reaching sympathy which the struggle has inspired. It is a history which can hardly be eclipsed by incidental accusations and criticisms brought against the Greeks by those poorly qualified to appreciate their virtues or to pass judgment on their vices.

Proof of national spirit in the struggle for freedom.

It can not be truthfully denied that a certain subtlety of character peculiar to the ancient Greeks has been transmitted to modern times, and that the old spirit of stratagem and even dishonesty may be discovered in the modern representatives of the Hellenic race, but along with these faults we must recognize and admire the greatness and valor of the people.

Survival of ancient subtlety; lack of artistic genius.

We may here pause to point out briefly one or two strange contrarieties presented in recent ethnic history. Though the modern Greeks have preserved to a considerable degree the intellectual acumen of their ancestors, they have failed to perpetuate or repeat its artistic faculties and achievements. The purely intellectual perceptions appear to be as keen in the Greek race of the present time as they were in the ancient stock; but the ideal and imaginative faculties have disappeared in the coldness and gloom of the Middle Ages.

We shall hereafter see in the Roman race exactly the opposite tendency. While the Romans were themselves an unartistic people, unable at the first to

WOMEN OF MEGARA—TYPES.—Drawn by A. Rixen, from a photograph and sketch of H. Belle.

appreciate and always unable to produce in any high degree, except by imitation, the artistic wonders which grew from the Greek mind as the blossom from the stem, the modern Romans—the Italians—have become the most art-producing people of all Europe. In music, in poetry, in painting, and in sculpture the mediæval Italians led the way; and to the present time their claim to the first rank in some of these particulars can hardly be controverted. Thus while in Italy an unartistic ancestry has produced an artistic race, in the Grecian peninsula the most artistic people of the ancient world have left as their descendants a people from whose intellects and imaginations the ideal and creative faculties seem to have disappeared.

Reversal of art evolution in the Greeks and the Romans.

The spirit of public affairs is abroad in modern Greece. Questions of public policy are debated with energy that might well remind one of the disputatious habits of the ancient people. At the present time, as of old, what is public business is the business of every Greek. Much of this interest—an intelligent interest withal—is to be traced to the admiration of the modern Greeks for their ancestors. We might well pause to note the difference of the backward look among the diverse peoples of the modern era. Most of them, all indeed who have a Teutonic ancestry, look back to barbarian beginnings and to a slow, laborious, and violent emergence, by painful stages, from a primitive savagery. Among the Latin races of the present time there is little of the admiring gaze for the great Roman race from which they are descended. The French, for instance, perceive clearly enough the peculiar vices—the arrogance, the haughtiness, the willful indifference to human rights, the spoliating spirit, the arbitrary principles of government—which were present in the society of ancient Rome; and they are little disposed to court a revival of such elements in modern times. But the Greeks look back with indescribable pride to that great intellectual, artistic, warlike an-

Passionate admiration of modern Greeks for their ancestors.

WOMAN OF LALA—TYPE.
Drawn by E. Ronjat, from a photograph.

cestry whose deeds and fame shine afar beyond the obscurity and darkness of the mediæval night. They would emulate the deeds of their ancestors. They would achieve greatness by the same means as they, and naturally choose the same methods of reaching preëminence as did the Greeks of old.

Approximation of Greek habit to that of Western Europe.

There has been within the present half-century a rapid approximation of the Greek to the form and manner of his kinspeople in Western Europe. His semi-Oriental costume has given place to a habit like that of Germany and France. His manners have been translated into the European mood and tense. He still retains the unreformed calendar, and is therefore behind the Western nations by some twelve days in his computation of time. In his social system there is still a confluence of methods from the East and the West. Monogamy is the law, and is adhered to, as we have seen, both in letter and spirit.

Marriage and marriageability; excess of male population.

In case of the death of the wife the Greek husband may remarry a second and a third time; not a fourth. Greek girls are marriageable at thirteen years of age, and the young men at sixteen. The marriage is arranged by the parents of the parties. These latter features are Oriental, as is also that rule which requires the bride to bring a dowry in the form of a house or furniture or money to the groom. Among the peasants it is not infrequently the case that unmarried girls wear their whole dowry in the form of a headdress, containing many pieces of money—this to the end that the prospective husband may know his estate! Early marriage is prevalent. As a rule, the relation is contracted in youth. Greece is the only European country in which the males are in excess of the females; and this circumstance has doubtless contributed to stimulate the marrying disposition of the people.

Number and distribution of the inhabitants; the Greek cities.

During the great revolution with which the first quarter of the century closed the population of Greece was much reduced and scattered. The brutality and vindictiveness of the Turks acted as a scourge worse than the combined devastation of famine and pestilence. On the coming forth of the Greeks to independence they numbered only about six hundred and twelve thousand. The census of 1879 showed a population of one million six hundred and seventy-nine thousand, being an average of eighty-four to the square mile. The most densely peopled part of the country is the Ionian islands, where the average rises to two hundred and twenty-nine to the square mile. Continental Greece is the most thinly populated of any European country, with the exception of Russia and Sweden. But the rate is rapidly increasing, and the total has been doubled since 1832. Greece contains no city of the first class. The population of Athens is but little over sixty thousand. Patras has twenty-six thousand; Corfu, twenty-four thousand; Syra, twenty-one thousand; and Zante, twenty thousand. The odd disparity between the number of men and women is seen in all parts of the country. Nor have ethnologists as yet been able to explain a fact so unusual in a country so long inhabited.

CHAPTER LIV.—THE ALBANIANS.

THE second ethnic division of the peoples in modern Greece is the Albanians. They are known in the vernacular as Skipetars, or Arnauts, meaning mountaineers, or highlanders. As we have said, Albania Proper is nearly coincident with the ancient Greek country of Illyria. But the Albanian race is by no means limited to this region. On the contrary, it has extended over Attica and Megaris, with the exception of the capital cities. The greater part of Bœotia, a considerable district of Locris, and the southern half of Eubœa are also inhabited by Albanians. Parts of Ægina and Andros and the islands of Salamis, Paros, Hydra, and Spezzia have the same stock; and in Argolis, Sicyonia, Arcadia, Laconia, Messenia, and Elis settlements of Albanians are found here and there.

Albanians the descendants of the ancient Illyrians.

The people have a language of their own, which is an Aryan dialect, traceable no doubt to that ancient form of Greek which was spoken in Illyria at the time of the Hellenic ascendency. But nearly all the Albanians outside of their own country have learned Greek, and at the same time, to a considerable extent, neglected and forgotten their native language. Indeed, it is claimed that in Greece Proper there were in 1870 only about thirty-seven thousand of the Albanian race who had not adopted the Greek tongue. They have also become members of the Greek Church. In Albania Proper, Mohammedanism is the prevalent religion, though the Greek orthodox faith is acknowledged and permitted.

Derivation of the language; prevalence of the Greek tongue.

We are able to trace with tolerable certainty the long series of historical transformations by which the ancient Epirotes, Illyrians, and Macedonians were reborn during the Middle Ages into the modern Albanian race. We have seen in a preceding chapter something of the character and dispositions of the tribes inhabiting this region. Their greatest nationality was achieved under the Macedonian supremacy. After the decline of Macedonia and the resolution of the nation into petty states, the old instincts revived—the instincts of war and independence. In course of time the Gauls and Bulgarians began to press upon Greece, and the Greek race in its entirety was threatened with extinction by the barbarians. Now it was, however, that the Illyrians and men of Epirus constituted a breakwater against the floods. For a long time they maintained a defensive attitude against the Teutonic and Slavonic races on the north and west. At length the Mohammedans came in from the East, and the people whom we may now call Albanians had to face about and defend themselves against Islam. The Turks made little headway against this resolute enemy. A popular leader appeared in the celebrated George Castriota, whom the Turks called Scanderbeg. Time and again Mohammed II, after his conquest of Constantinople, set his armies against the Albanians, only to suffer defeat at their hands. After vainly trying to subjugate them, he acknowledged

Historical transformation of ancients into Albanians.

their independence by formal treaty, until after the death of Scanderbeg, when the war was renewed.

In 1478 Scutari was besieged by the

GREEK PRIEST.
Drawn by E. Ronjat, from a photograph.

Turks, and the struggle ended adversely to the Albanians. But the mountaineers never truly accepted the domination of the Turks. The latter were obliged to hire the Albanian soldiers to serve in the army of the sultan, and to excite their natural love of booty with the prospect of plunder in foreign wars. During the Ottoman ascendency the Albanians remained in dependence upon the Mohammedan empire. But no sooner did that power begin to decline than the old spirit revived among the tribes of Macedonia and Illyria, and under the leadership of the renowned Ali Pasha, Albania, at the close of the eighteenth century, regained her rank and became almost an independent kingdom. The fame of this war and of its audacious leader gave subsequent character to the race. The Albanians were ever afterwards inflamed with the recollections of their struggle and victories, and Ali Pasha entered into the war songs of the country as a national hero.

Historical vicissitudes of Albanians from fifteenth century.

During the whole career of the Albanian race after the Mohammedan conquest, at the close of the fifteenth century, it has been subjected to the action of counter forces, some of which have drawn the people toward the Turks and others toward the Greeks. By race instinct they have sympathized with the Greeks, but their religious faith has kept them in alliance with Turkey. In the western part of Albania, particularly in the region of the Suli mountains, the Greek Church has maintained its place; and the Albanians, who are scattered in the states of Central and Southern Greece, are generally adherents of that Church. All such have sympathized with the movements of the modern Greeks in the direction of nationality. But the Macedonian Albanians have been kept under the sway of the Porte.

The race wavers between the Greeks and the Turcomans.

It was this condition of affairs that gave opportunity to Ali Pasha to play

SULIOTES—TYPES.—Drawn by A. Rixen.

double with the Turkish power during his whole career. It was the same circumstance which prevented the Albanians from entering heartily into the cause of Greek independence. If they had flung themselves with enthusiasm into the great rebellion of 1821, and if the Greeks had received them in the same spirit, there can be little doubt that the whole country would have been emancipated from Turkish rule. But the religious hatreds existing between the two races prevented any such union, and the Albanians either stood aloof from the contest or else made cause with the Turks.

Albanians fail to uphold the cause of the Greeks.

The Suliotes, however, who had already suffered at the hands of Ali Pasha, and had long endured the tyranny of the Turks, took up the cause of Greece. Had they been sufficiently advanced to submit cheerfully to the subordination required under military discipline, very effective work might have been expected at their hands. As it was, they, in common with the other Greeks, gained a great military fame throughout Western Europe. Under the leadership of Marcos Bozzaris, they first resisted the armies of Ali Pasha with a heroism worthy of the ancient race; and afterwards, in 1820, joining their forces with his in Epirus, they obtained the restoration of their mountain region, and then served in Western Greece against the Turks. In 1822 the Suliote army was decimated in their terrible attack on the stronghold of Kiapha, from which they attempted to liberate the Suliote garrison shut up therein. Bozzaris then led his countrymen into Missolonghi, where he continued to fight like a Greek hero of the epic age, until he was finally slain, as all the world knows, in a night attack on the Turkish camp. Lord Byron has not failed to catch the military spirit of the race in one of his Greek war songs:

Patriotic sympathies and valor of the Suliotes.

> "Oh! who is more brave than a dark Suliote,
> In his snowy camese and his shaggy capote?
> To the wolf and the vulture he leaves his wild flock,
> And descends to the plain like the stream from the rock."

The Albanians proper number about one million two hundred thousand souls. In this aggregate are included such Greeks and Turks as have settled in Macedonia, Epirus, and Illyria. More than one half of the population are Mohammedans, less than a half Greek Catholics. It is claimed, however, that the whole body of people sympathize with the Greek Church, and that the acceptance of Islam is traceable to interested motives. The males in each family go to the mosque to worship, but the women nearly all attend the church. Both religions are represented in the same household and at the same table. It frequently happens that dishes are served on the family table which are unclean to the Islamites but clean to the Christians. The wife will thus be seen helping herself to food which the husband and sons are forbidden to touch.

Number of Albanians; division on score of religion.

It is believed, however, that these differences are factitious, and are maintained only for political reasons. Doubtless the subtlety of the Greek race has contrived in such a situation much deception and insincerity. And it may well be believed that the men are more infidel than are the women, judged by the standard of Islam. From these circumstances the Albanians have never stood well with their masters. They are distrusted of infidelity and disloyalty to the Porte. The Turks have no confidence

Subtlety of old Greek character revives in Albanians.

ALBANIAN BRIGANDS.—Drawn by E. Ronjat, from a photograph.

in the sincerity or devotion of their Albanian subjects, and have become accustomed to speak of them in terms of contempt. The character which the Albanians maintain toward their masters is the exact counterpart of the disposition of the ancient Greeks in like circumstances. The craft and deceptive exploits of the old race are reproduced in the duplicity and treachery of their modern descendants. It must be remembered, however, that these qualities of character do not involve the same turpitude when employed against the Turks as when exhibited in the conduct of Western peoples in their intercourse with each other. And it must also be borne in mind that the Albanians are much more open and frank than are the modern Greeks.

License and brigandage of the Albanians.

There is, perhaps, no place in Europe where so much lawlessness or individual license exists as in the mountainous districts of Albania. The community is less organized than any other west of the Black sea. The people are divided into bands resembling somewhat the clans of the Scottish highlands. It is said to be the exception to find an adult Albanian who is not, or has not been, a member of some group of self-governed brigands, whose chief energies are given to foray and plunder. The Albanians go full armed even to their daily pursuits. In the mountainous regions of Thessaly and Macedonia the chief protection of the family is the personal valor of the men. It is not regarded as disgraceful to lead the life of brigandage. As the men grow old and are not sufficiently active for good service in excursive lawlessness they become settled with their families, and it is their manner to speak to travelers—not without some show of pride—of the various hazards and incidents of their former life. In such conversation the Albanian hero will say without blush that this or that happened "when I was a robber."

Value of the Albanians as soldiers of the Porte.

The lawless pursuit of plundering is not disparaged in comparison with other vocations. The modern Albanian shares the indisposition of the old Greek to cultivate the soil. He is disposed to remand that work to slaves and menials while he goes forth into peril and adventure. The type of courage for which the Albanians are so famous throughout Europe is Greek in every feature. No one understands this better than the Turks. They accordingly recruit their armies as much as possible from the hill-country of Macedonia and Illyria. Whenever the robber class is overstocked the Albanians drift from brigandage into the pasha's army, and no other class of the Turkish soldiery is so much esteemed for valor and activity in the field. It was this element in the Turkish army during the Crimean war that called forth the admiration and almost the emulation of the British and French soldiers who were their allies against the Russians. The Zouave uniform and method of drill which have become popular in several parts of Europe and America are largely Albanian in their origin.

Industrial and commercial life; products and clothing.

The city population of Albania is not great. Scutari, the capital, situated on the lake of the same name, has about forty thousand inhabitants. Prisrend is the principal manufacturing city. It is here that the firearms and cutlery used by the Albanians for domestic and warlike purposes are made. Commerce is not much encouraged. Most of the merchants of the country are Greeks, who have inherited the commercial

spirit from their ancestors. The exports are almost exclusively unmanufactured products—cattle, sheep, provisions, silk, rawhides, drugs, dyestuffs, salted meats, and valonia, the last named being the acorn cups from the valonia oaks, from which the tannic acid of commerce is manufactured. Olives, grapes, pomegranates, oranges, lemons, mulberries, and figs are produced for home consumption. Oil, tobacco, and cotton are exported in considerable quantities. The timberless islands of the Mediterranean are supplied with building materials from the forests of Albania. The imports are mostly such fabrics as are needed for clothing. A large part of the coarser, cheaper manufactures of Germany are distributed in this region. The most active domestic trade is in firearms, cutlery, gunpowder, hardware, coffee, and sugar. The national outer garment for the men is called the capote, and this is a product of home manufacture, as well as most of the firearms and cutlery.

The costume of the Albanians is one of the most picturesque of modern times. It is in close analogy with that of the Highlanders of Scotland. The undergarment is a cotton shirt. Over this is a white woolen kilt which reaches to the knees; above this, a jacket. The waist is bound with a sash, or belt, in which is distributed a plentiful supply of pistols, yataghans, etc. The leggings are colored. The feet are protected with sandals. The red cap, known as the Turkish cap, is worn, and about this is generally twisted a red scarf or light shawl. The garment of the chieftain is distinguished from that of the common people by elegance of material and ornamentation. The jackets of the wealthy are made of velvet, and are embroidered with gold. Military officers and other great men have metal greaves over their leggings, and the latter are made of scarlet cloth. The outer garment, for protection against rain and snow, is the capote, a rough, shaggy mantle, with a hood to be drawn over the head. It is made of coarse woolen cloth or of horsehair woven into fabric. The general style of female dress is like that of the men, but is more varied, and frequently

Picturesqueness of the Albanian costumes.

ALBANIAN TYPE—ALEXANDROS SLAVROS.
Drawn by E. Ronjat, from a photograph.

fantastical in fashion. We have already mentioned a custom among the Greek peasant girls of wearing their dowry of gold coins in their cap, or headdress. This usage also holds among the Albanians. The hair is abundant and is allowed to hang down the back in heavy braids, which are loaded with ornaments.

The person and bearing of the Albanians is sufficiently striking. They are of middle height. They have the oval, Greek face. The eyes are dark and brilliant. The cheek bones high and prominent. The neck is peculiarly long and the chest broad and full. The air, the manner, is haughty in the extreme. The carriage is erect and majestic—the walk almost stagelike in its majesty and striding vigor. The disposition is almost wholly Greek. The Albanians are never, as the Turks, dark-spirited, silent, grave, and plotting. On the contrary, they are gay, lively, joyful in manner, open, and active.

Personal bearing and manners; onset in battle.

The natural disposition is one of restlessness. Excitement is the mental food of the people, and danger the salt of every action and enterprise. The courage, adventure, and daring of the men amount to fierceness. The charge of the Suliotes, even the attack of a band of Albanian brigands, is like the oncoming of a storm. Few things merely human can stand in the wind of the onset. Perhaps in persistency of battle the race is not as conspicuous as it is in the first attack—the wild charge which is intended to carry the field as a blast sent forth. The Albanian soldiers are such as the French might be turned wild in the mountains of the East.

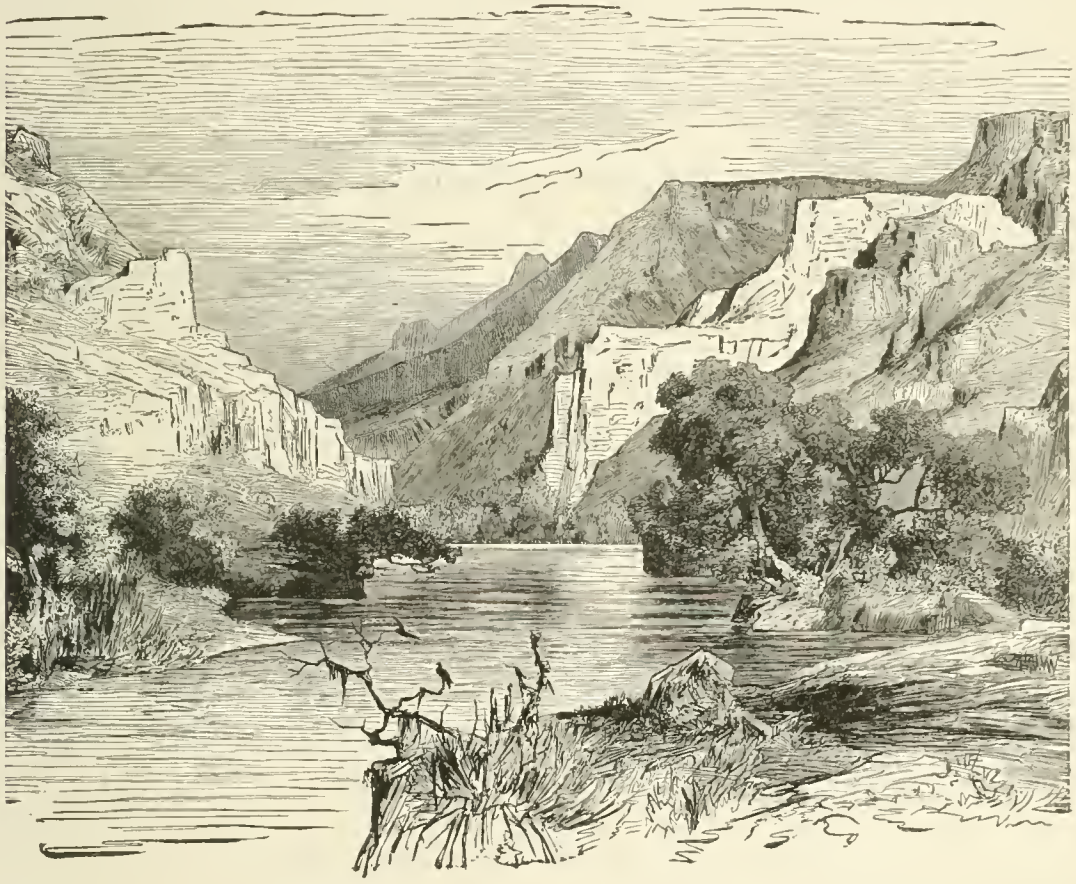
In several of their traits, however, the Albanians appear to have been influenced by the Turks. Notable among these dispositions is their contemptuous opinion of women. All Mohammedans hold virtually that the woman is only a convenient circumstance of man's life, made for his pleasure, associated with him as it were incidentally, subject to his will, obedient to his commands. These opinions have been impressed upon the Albanians during their nearly four hundred years of subjection to the Turks. They look upon women as an inferior order of creatures, even as animals; and the treatment which they extend to their wives and daughters is like the sentiment from which it proceeds. The women are abused, exposed to hardship, compelled to toil, reduced to a menial state, and held, indeed, as the followers of the Prophet are wont to hold the woman. Much slavish labor is put off by the Albanian men upon the women, and they are held to the performance of many tasks, both indoors and out, from which the women of Western Europe are generally spared. In one respect, however, their life is freer than that of their sisters among the Turks: they are not obliged to seclude themselves or veil their faces according to the Mohammedan habit.

Contemptuous estimate and abuse of woman.

The Albanian language is unmistakably the modern expression of the Græco-Illyrian tongue of antiquity. Its radical part is as old as the speech of those Hellenic tribes that contributed the first population to the Grecian peninsula. Should we look still further we should find that this Illyrian tongue of antiquity had its own root in Æolic Greek, that coarse, barbaric form of speech which the first Hellenes brought with them islandwise across the Ægean from their native seats in Phrygia. But the Illyrian dialect as it was spoken in the days of Alexander, the days of Pyrrhus,

Genealogy and modifications of the Albanian tongue.

the days of Philip V, was destined to suffer many vicissitudes before it should reach its modern development. It must feel the impact of barbarian languages, notably the Bulgarian. Afterwards it must be infected with Slavonic influences on the north. It must feel the effects of constant intercourse with the Greek race on the south. Finally it must be dominated by the language of the Ottoman Turks.



VALE OF TEMPE, WITH OLYMPUS AND THE PENEIOS.—Drawn by L. H. Fischer.

From all these foreign elements, to say nothing of incidental importations from the great nations of the West, the Albanian of to-day has gathered its forms. Essentially Aryan, specifically Greek, it has taken, somewhat after the English manner, so many alien infections as to make it a tongue *sui generis* even among the peculiarly composite speeches of Eastern Europe. Nor has the Albanian language as yet expanded and exhibited its powers in any extensive native literature. A few authors have within the present century risen to some note, but the greater part of the intellectual culture of the country is assimilated with that of the modern Greeks, and nearly all writers learn and employ the Greek language as their vehicle of literary expression. In writing Albanian both alphabets, the Latin and the Greek, are used, the former being most employed in those works which are translated from foreign literatures, such as the New Testament and other religious books; while the vernacular pro-

Meagerness of the literary development of the Albanians.

ductions are generally written in the Greek character.

We have thus arrived at the point from which we are for the first time able to look back over the whole extent of one division of the Aryan race. This is to say that the modern Greeks and the Albanians are at *the end of the twigs* of the first branch of the Aryan tree which we have been considering. The great question for historians and ethnologists, for students of these profound sciences, is to note and record the peculiar race characteristics which these modern peoples have derived from the original stock. We may summarize the subject thus: that this branch of Aryan life extended, in the prehistoric ages, from its origin in the Bactrian highlands westward across Mesopotamia, through Armenia, into Cappadocia and Phrygia, where it received its first historical development in ages far remote. Thence by migration certain wandering tribes set out for the West, and crossed the Upper Ægean into Thrace, veered southward into Macedonia and Thessaly, and continued its progress into Illyria and Epirus. Perhaps this first incoming was antecedent to the Æolic Greeks who came by the same route into the peninsula.

Greeks and Albanians represent extreme of Aryan evolution.

The old Illyrian stock was thus planted in the countries north of Greece Proper. This stock gave us in course of time the Macedonian ascendency. It passed at length under the dominion of the Roman race. After some centuries it was infested with barbarism from the north. After another great span it submitted to the Turco-Islamite domination from the East. With the decline of that power the old race revived, reässerted itself, represented itself in the character of the modern Albanians.

Meanwhile the same process had been going on in Greece. The course of ethnic events in that country we have already pointed out. Thus we have presented for our consideration the modern Greek and Albanian races as the representatives of the first division of the old Aryan family of mankind. We shall, in the next place, transfer our station from the Grecian peninsula into Italy, and in like manner watch the development of the Roman race to its complete efflorescence in the modern peoples now representing that tremendous human evolution.

BOOK VIII.—THE ROMANS.

CHAPTER LV.—THE ETRUSCANS.

A RACE condition very similar to that which has been described in the chapter on the aborigines of Hellas was present in primitive Italy. Before the incoming of the first Indo-European inhabitants into that peninsula two or three primitive races had already occupied the country. One of these, called the Iapygians, occupied the southern portion of the land, and thus formed a sort of substratum for the subsequent Græco-Italic development in that region. But a more important and interesting branch of mankind had taken possession of North and Central Italy and spread itself from sea to sea. It was here that the Etruscan family had possessed the country and built cities therein long anterior to the coming of the Latins.

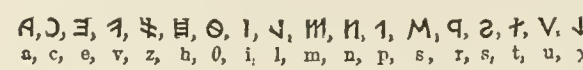
The Etruscans of Italy were not in the earliest times limited to the country west of the Apennines, as they were after the planting of Rome. They were established on both slopes of the mountains, spreading down on the east to the Po, and on the west from the Tiber to the Arno. They thus occupied one of the most important districts in the peninsula. Subsequently, they were displaced from their eastern positions by the mountain tribes contemporaneous with the primitive Latins, and were narrowed to the limits of what was afterward the classical state of Etruria. Here it was that the development of the Etruscans took place, and from this point of view we gather the fragmentary and uncertain remains of their civilization.

Parts of Italy occupied by the Etruscan race.

There is perhaps no ethnic problem involved in greater obscurity than that which relates to the origin of the Etruscans. Five or six theories have been plausibly supported by different schools in history and archæology. Though the Etruscans left many inscriptions, the

Great difficulty of determining race descent of the Etruscans.

determination of their alphabet and language has been beset with great difficulties. Not until 1841 did the scholar Lepsius finally ascertain the character of the Etruscan letters. The alphabet appears to have been deduced from a Græco-Chalcidian original, which in some manner had been transmitted to the western coast of Italy. It consists of nineteen letters, as follows:



ETRUSCAN ALPHABET.

This alphabet, it will be noted, has a striking peculiarity in the omission of the middle mutes *b*, *d*, and *g*. It has been noted also that the vowel *o* never occurs in the original inscriptions of Etruria.

On the whole, and as a summary of the best that is known relative to the ethnic origin of the Etruscans, it may be said that they were of the same original stock with the Pelasgi, or primitive people of Greece. It is likely that in the migratory age, long anterior to the first appearance of Indo-European peoples in the West, the two races, Etruscan and Pelasgian, parted company in Thessaly, the latter making its way southward into Hellas and the Ægean islands, and the former, under dominion of the original migratory impulse, passing to the westward above the Adriatic, dropped into Upper Italy, where the mountains on the north and the sea on the west prevented further progress.

Ethnic affinity with the Greek Pelasgians.

It appears that the true race name of this people is RAS, to which the Latin gentile termination *enna* has been affixed. They were the Rasennæ. But this ethnic designation is less common than several others. In the epic poets the people were generally designated as Tyrrheni, or Tyrseni, the latter being the name given to them by the Greeks. The common prose title used by the Roman writers was Tusci, or Etrusci, and the latter term has passed into the literature of modern times as the common name of the people. The territory in which they lived after the founding of Rome was clearly defined. It was in general the region bounded on the south by the Tiber, on the east by the Apennines, and on the west by the sea. The upper limit of the country was parallel with the Arno, but further north by a distance of about fifty miles. The region was one of the most interesting in all Italy, and has carried its importance into modern times.

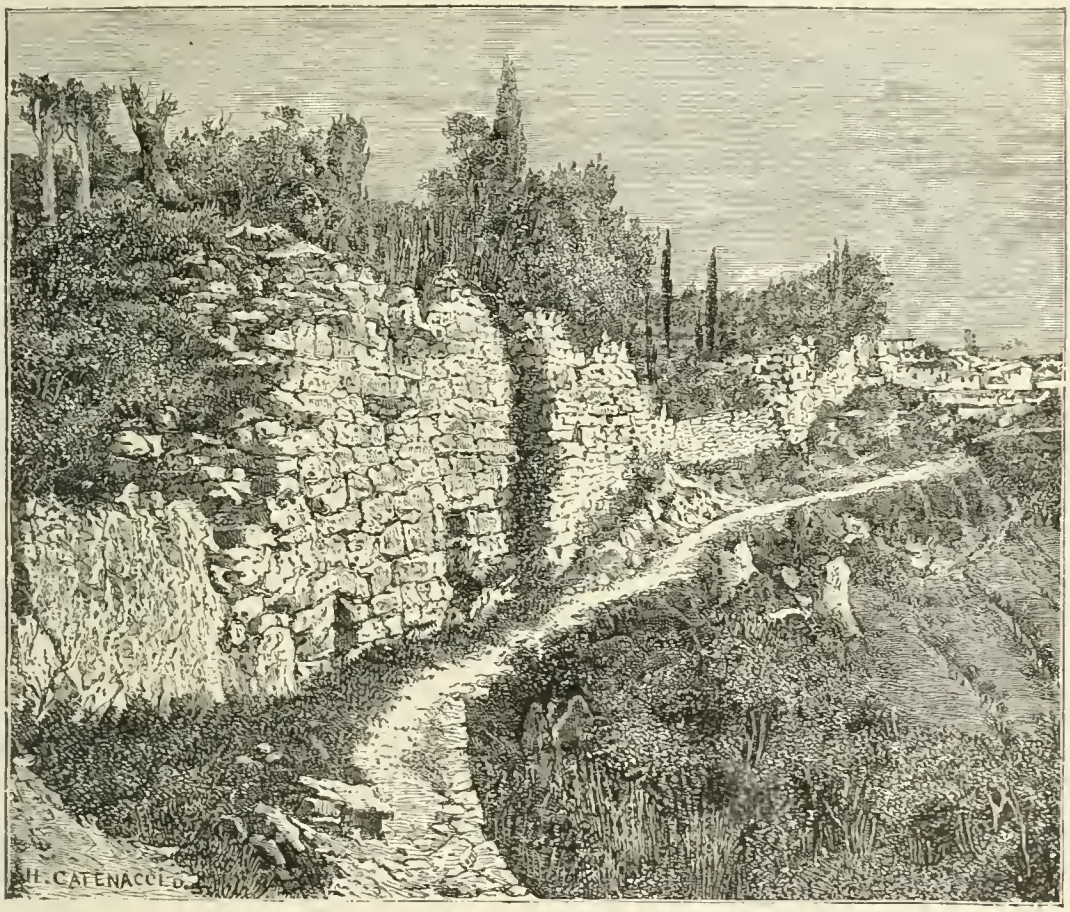
Old names of the Etruscans; their territories.

As in the case of the Egyptian monuments, the inscriptions and sculptures of the Etruscans have fortunately preserved the form and features of the people by whom they were produced. They were a race strongly discriminated in personal characteristics from the Latin and Sabellian Italians. Their unlikeness to the Greeks was equally emphatic. If any analogy of figure and personal character can be noted between the Etruscans and any other people of antiquity, such analogy points to the primitive inhabitants of Cyprus and to the Assyrians. The Etruscans were strongly marked as a distinct people. They were short in stature, having large heads and thick, muscular arms and legs. They appear to have been unusually strong and vigorous, heavy in person, and rough in exterior. They wore beards, which were closely curled about their faces, and their hair was likewise napped in a manner suggestive of the Africans or the primitive Elamites. The features were by

Features and characteristics of the race.

no means refined or classical, and the Etruscan artists seem to have delighted, as is shown on their coins and bronzes, in distorting the physiognomy of the race.

The remains of Etruscan civilization which have descended to modern times consist of antique monuments, heavy



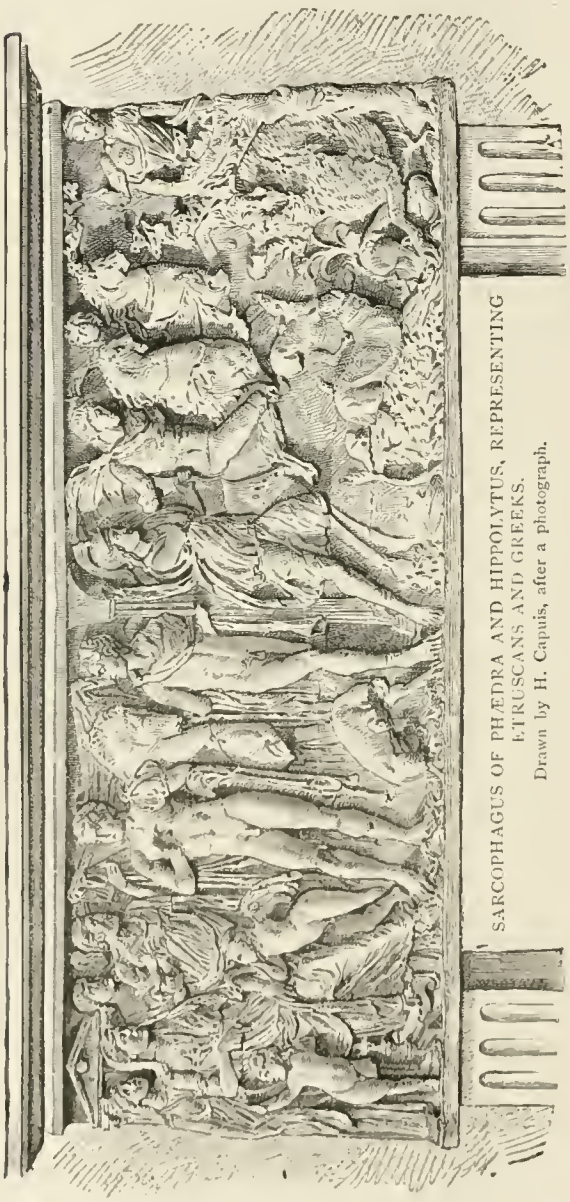
ETRUSCAN RUINS.—WALLS AT VOLTERRA.—Drawn by H. Catenacci.

stone walls, *cloacæ*, or aqueducts, sculptured tombs, vases, statues, coins, and personal ornaments. On the whole, the art of this primitive people is somewhat analogous to that of the Greeks, but seems to have been arrested in its earlier stages of development. The Etruscan memorials are all characterized by a certain rude strength, in striking contrast with the highly refined designs of the Hellenic artists. The relics of the former people are sufficiently abundant, and are not limited to the narrow geographical area known as Etruria. The fame of the Etruscan builders, especially their reputation as stone masons, extended into different parts of Italy. The early ages of Rome were infected with the designs and workmanship which were unmistakably the product of workmen out of Etruria. Many of the most striking structures belonging to the half-mythical age of the Roman kings were done by Etruscan architects and builders. Such a work was the great Cloaca Maxima, which to the present day bears silent witness to the tremendous energies

Character of the monumental remains of the Etruscans.

of the primitive artisans north of the Tiber.

If we descend into the minor artistic workmanship of the Etruscans we shall find much of interest and instruction.



SARCOPHAGUS OF PHÆDRA AND HIPPOLYTUS, REPRESENTING ETRUSCANS AND GREEKS.
Drawn by H. Caputs, after a photograph.

Artistic workmanship; the scarabs in particular.

One of their most significant branches of art was the production of scarabs and coins. The former (from *scarabæus*, a beetle) would appear to have had its origin in Egypt, whose monumental remains abound in representations of the sacred beetle. But it would seem that the Etruscan ornament of this pattern had a totally different origin. The material employed in the scarabs which are found in the Etruscan tombs and in the excavations of cities and country places is carnelian, or banded agate. The piece selected is reduced to a circular form and flat surface, on which the design is engraved in intaglio. The ornament is pierced transversely and hung by a swivel to the rings which were worn for ornament or to chains for the neck.

Etruscan art work generally of Greek derivation.

No doubt the kind of engraving exhibited on these relics belonged to the later period of Etruscan development, when the art of the Greeks and the Oriental nations had infected the primitive races of the West. It has been thought that the gems in question are as late as the seventh of even the sixth century before our era. Indeed, it is in direct proof that many of the designs on the scarabs are deduced from Hellenic sources. Of the one hundred and ninety-seven gems of this variety preserved in the British Museum, all but thirty bear legends and designs which have been gathered from the heroic age of the Greeks, and it is believed that only two represent native Etruscan subjects.

The Etruscan coins, and method of their production.

The work done on the Etruscan coins is similar to that on the gems just described. It appears that the manner of manufacturing the coins was analogous to that employed by the Greeks of Miletus and Attica. A ball of bronze, or of silver or gold, of the proper weight was laid in a concavity on the face of some metallic plate, resem-

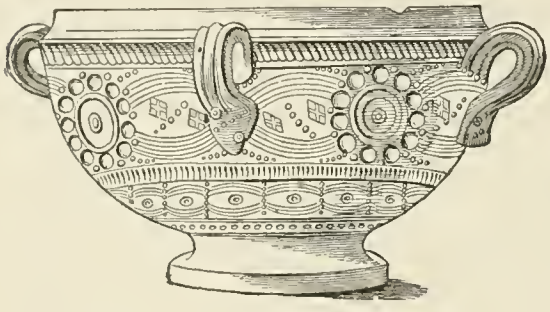
bling an anvil. Corresponding to this was a sledge, with a concavity in its face, and this was brought down upon the bolus of metal, compressing and flattening it out. Mechanically considered the coins are rude. Their edges are irregular and frequently split from the blow which produced the impression. But the artistic work is of a good quality, not to say superior. The design is intaglio so far as the dies are concerned, but the figures on the coin are mostly in relief. The Gorgon head, the cuttlefish, and the beetle are favorite figures in the Etruscan coinage. It is demonstrable that the coins themselves are weighed and modeled after styles which had already been established in the Ægean islands and in Asia Minor. The standard frequently corresponds with that of Miletus or Athens. It is believed that most of the Etruscan coins in the British Museum and elsewhere belonged to the seventh or the beginning of the sixth century before our era.

Next in interest among the remains of this early people of Italy may be mentioned their terra-cotta work, known among antiquaries as *black ware*. This variety of artisanship abounds, and is so peculiar as to be readily recognized by any one having tolerable skill in antiquities. The vases, which constitute the larger part of such work, are modeled in the first place of clay, and are of tolerably well conceived designs. Their peculiar feature is an engraved band of images running around the middle of the vase, producing the effect of what is called a procession of figures. It is evident from an examination that this band of figures was produced by an engraved cylinder bearing the images, in intaglio, on its surface. The cylinder

ETRUSCAN VASES.—From *Magazine of Art*.

was rolled around the body of the vase while the clay was still plastic, and the figures in the procession were thus pressed into relief. It is noted that the designs in question are Oriental, being in analogy with the figure work of Egypt and Assyria rather than that of the Greeks. The images thus set in relief around the center of the vases consists of rows of animals, such as the lion, the deer, the panther, and the sphinx. The procession is generally closed by a human figure with wings, which seems to be moving at speed and pressing forward the animals before it. It is believed by antiquaries that the terra-cotta

Terra-cotta work; vases and images thereon.



ARETIN VASE.
Drawn by Matthias.

of the Etruscans has many points of identity with the like work of the Phœnicians, and examples of similar work have been found in the island of Cyprus. In general, the form of art which we are here describing never descends into geometric patterns such as were employed among the early Greeks.

Another species of art work in which the Etruscans may be said to have excelled was the manufacture of jewelry. The tombs of the country abound in specimens of the goldsmith's work, such as necklaces, earrings, wreaths, bracelets, finger rings, and fibulæ for fastening the scarfs and dresses of ladies. In examining these articles, the same perplexity arises which has been mentioned respecting the origin of the other elements of Etruscan civilization. The jewelry is sufficiently elegant to have been modeled after that of the Greeks, or at least to have been derived from a common source with the like art of the Hellenes. But the Etruscan methods and patterns indicate a different source. Instead of the filigree work for which the Greek goldsmiths were so famous, that is, the method of soldering down fine gold wire into a desired pattern, the Etruscan artists employed another kind of art by which the metal was dropped in minute globules, each separately made and soldered down into the required position. This constitutes what is known as granulated work—a style peculiar to the Orient.

Etruscan jewelry; method of granulation.

As far as such analogies go the jewelry of the Etruscans appears to have been patterned after that of Cyprus. It has been declared by Cesnola that certain gold necklaces discovered in Etruscan tombs are identical in pattern and fabrication with like articles of Cypriot manufacture. It should not be forgotten, however, that the fine arts are not necessarily derivative the one from the other. It is perfectly within the bounds of reason to suppose that native development among different peoples may have reached similar or identical results without any historical connection between them.

Styles from Cyprus; fine arts not necessarily derivative.

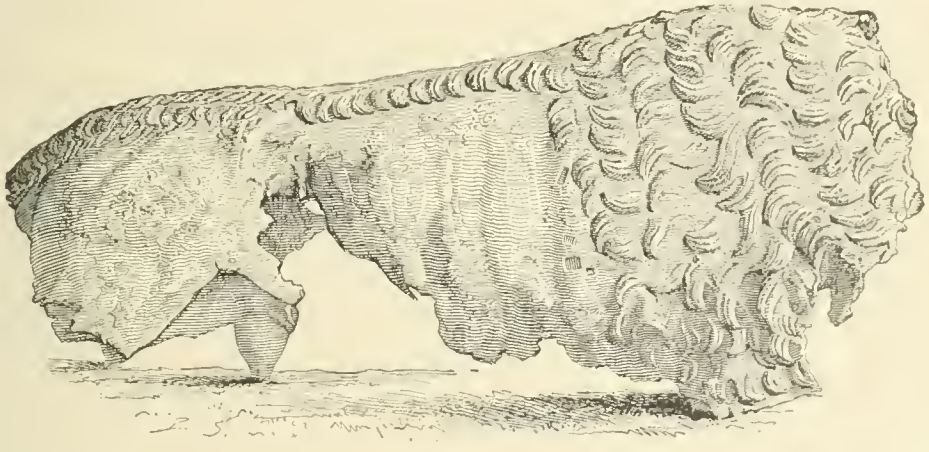
The manufacture and employment of bronze in the arts was well known to the Etruscans. Few of the primitive peoples have surpassed them as makers of this composite metal. Among the relics of bronze work which they have left to posterity, their mirrors may be mentioned with admiration. The same

Bronzes and painting; art subjects from Greek story.

were generally circular in form, with a handle attached to one side of the periphery. The polished surface of these articles was exceedingly smooth and highly finished, returning an image quite as accurate as that reflected from modern mirrors. On the back of the mirror the space was covered with ornamental work in relief. Beautiful wreaths, surrounding a figure from mythology or some fabulous animal, were arranged on the surface, and various styles of ornamentation employed to heighten the quality and artistic finish of the article. It has been noted that this work, as well as the designs on the scarabs referred to above, has its subjects for the most part from the heroic age of the Greeks. Various well-known myths and legends, such as the story of Helen, the Trojan War, the Labors of Hercules, are set in relief upon the backs of these bronze mirrors of the Etruscans. It appears that their skill extended only in a slight degree to bronze castings, their work being executed with the hammer and by repoussé. Cast statuettes of bronze, however, are found in many of the tombs, and in these an analogy is noticeable with similar productions of Greek art.

The Etruscans were acquainted with the use of pigments and design in color. They painted their vases with considerable skill, though it is believed that the artists employed for this work were for the most part Greeks. The subjects are, like those already referred to, from the mythical age of the Hellenes. Sometimes the design is Theseus struggling with the Minotaur. Sometimes it is Ariadne holding the clew; sometimes a chorus; sometimes a procession of chariots and centaurs with the forelegs of men.

The Etruscan artists also painted the walls of their houses and their tombs.



TORSO OF ANTIQUE LION IN BRONZE.—Drawn by P. Sellier, from a photograph of original found at Fiesole, in 1882

In the latter the best examples of the old method of coloring and design are found. The tints used were red, brown, yellow, carnation, blue, and black; and it appears that the work was highly colored, and sometimes glaring. In the sepulchers of Veii, Tarquinii, and Cære many examples of this ancient art have been recovered and subjected to criticism. It appears that three successive stages had occurred in the artistic development of the Etruscans before they were subjected to the dominant race of Italy. The oldest presents the work of primitive artists before the country had been infected with Hellenic influences.

Skill in coloring illustrated in sepulchers.

In the second stage the leading features of Greek painting begin to appear, while in the third stage the influence of the foreign schools has become clearly dominant.

Etruria was, perhaps, the first political state west of the Adriatic. So far as civil organization existed, it appears to have been municipal in character. Tradition transmitted to the Romans and to after times the story of twelve cities which had constituted the nuclei of Etruscan influence. These primitive towns were not all contemporaneous but were rather the successive centers of the Etruscan state. They constituted a league, out of which some members were dropped and into which others would enter. The principal of these was the town of Veii, the site of which corresponded with that of the modern Isola Farnese. It was about eleven miles from that Rome which was destined to be a victorious rival and destroyer of the older city. The Etruscan stronghold was built on a cliff and surrounded with strong walls. The adjacent territory was rich in resources, and there were four or five subject towns which contributed to the wealth and resources of the capital. The story of the relations of Veii with primitive Rome is well known in all the annals relating to the first struggles of the city of Romulus.

Priority of Etruria among West Aryan states.

Next in importance was the town of Tarquinii, identical in site with the modern Corneto. There is a legend to the effect that at the beginning of the seventh century B. C., a Corinthian merchant named Demaratus fled from the tyranny which then prevailed in his native city and established himself, with certain Greek companions, at Tarquinii. Here he married a native lady, and the union became the origin of the house of Tarquin at Rome. Next in importance among the Etruscan cities was Cære. It appears that this place, however, had sunk in influence and power before the rise of Rome, and so the Cærites played but a small part in the struggle which subsequently ensued for the dominion of Italy.

Tarquinii and other principal cities of the Etruscans.

Another of these ancient Etruscan cities near the Tiber was Falerii, which, like Veii, was founded on a high, bare rock. This place continued to be a stronghold of the race until the rising power of the Romans ultimately reduced it to subjection. Next in order of the twelve cities may be mentioned Volci, which appears to have been of no considerable importance in the later days of Etruria, but, as we know from its numerous sepulchers, must have been originally a populous city. A single tomb, known as the Tumulus of Cucumella, is to the present day noted for its size and remarkable appearance. It is a circular mound, about two hundred feet in diameter and from forty to fifty feet in height. It is similar in character to the famous tomb of King Alyattes, in Lydia, and to that described by Pliny as being the sepulcher of Porsena, of Clusium.

Next may be mentioned the cities of Volsinii and Clusium, the latter of which appears to have been a very ancient town, founded by the Umbrians, but subsequently taken and peopled by the Etruscans. Its well-known importance in the times of King Porsena has passed into tradition and history. The relations of the city to Rome in the time of the Tarquins, at the close of the sixth century B. C., need not be repeated. Still another of the twelve cities was Arretium, the modern Arezzo. This place

Historical importance of Clusium, Arretium, and Cortona.

was not one of the most ancient municipalities of Etruria, but rose to influence in the later times when Rome had already become the dominant state of the peninsula. Similar in situation to Veii was Cortona, founded on a high, bare cliff, easily defensible against the enemy. This town appears to have been one of the most ancient of all. Tradition assigns to it an Umbrian origin and a subsequent Etruscan conquest, as in the case of Clusium.

The same story has been perpetuated relative to the founding and subsequent vicissitudes of Perusia, the modern Perugia. Part of the walls of this old Etruscan town and many other objects of interest connected with it are still preserved. Some of the best Etruscan inscriptions have been recovered from this locality. Perusia was at many times in relations of war and peace with the primitive Latins, and continued to be a municipality of considerable power and daring as late as the times of Fabius. The city government was preserved down to the close of the Roman republic, and was reduced by famine and by one of the armies of Augustus.

Relations of Perusia to the Roman state.

MODERN AREZZO.—Drawn by Taylor from a photograph.

The other three cities of ancient Etruria were Volaterræ, Populonia, and Russellæ, the first of which was noted for its massive walls, whose outlines are still traceable above the ground. This place also engaged in the early struggle

when the Tarquins, backed by the Etruscans, were contending for the mastery of Rome. Populonia was noted for its iron manufacture as late as the times of Scipio Africanus. The smiths of this city furnished the grappling hooks and other iron apparatus for the Roman fleet. The old walls built by the Etruscan masons of Russellæ, the modern Rosello, still mark the place of the city. Like its sister towns of the league, it struggled with the Romans, and was not subdued until the beginning of the third century before our era.

Building and manufactures of Volaterræ and Populonia.

We thus perceive the outlines of an ancient, half-civilized state founded by a people of considerable progress and attainments in Western Italy long before the ascendency of the Latin race in the peninsula. The remnants of their civilized and industrial life are plentifully distributed in the country of their ancient occupancy even to the present day. Their coins and their bronzes are found in all the principal museums of the world, and their terra-cotta work, especially their vases and their great sarcophagi, surrounded with processions of figures and crowned on the lid with the effigies of the dead, preserve an everlasting memorial of the artistic sense which appears to have been to a certain extent native in the race, but largely subject to foreign development.

Interesting remains from time of the Etruscan ascendency.

ETRUSCAN WALL AT CORTONA.—Drawn by H. Catenacci.

It must be noted that these people are hardly of a grade of intelligence and power to warrant their classification with barbarians. Like the great race whose beginnings have been noted in a former part of this work, relative to the planting of civilization in the valley of the Indus, the Pelasgians of Greece and the Etruscans of Italy had already well advanced from the barbarous condition at our earliest acquaintance with them. What may have been the previous tribal history, how low or how high may have been what may be truly called the aboriginal state of these peoples, it is impossible in the present state of human knowledge to determine. Certain it is that they were not savages. They bore weapons of bronze. They cultivated the soil. They knew the arts of stone-cutting and of building. The remains of their masonry are matters of astonishment to the present day. Of their intellectual life but little is known, and to what extent the race, if undisturbed in its native seats, might have risen by subsequent development is purely conjectural.

Rank of the Etruscans in the scale of civilization.

It is sufficient, in conclusion of the present chapter, to note the strong line of demarkation between what is called historic ethnology and prehistoric ethnology. The former relates to the movements and character of such peoples as have already made considerable progress from the barbarian condition. It discusses the tendencies and prospects and actual attainments of tribes that have shown themselves to be in the evolutionary process and to have reached such a level of conscious life as to merit the attention of the ethnographer and the historian. Such peoples were the House-Folk of old Arya, described in the first volume; such were the Pelasgian inhabitants of Hellas and the Ægean islands and such were the Etruscans of Central Italy. These peoples, though primitive, can not be regarded as aboriginal. Back of them is a lost history covering long migrations and obscure manners and undiscoverable stages of development.

Distinction between historic and prehistoric ethnology.

CHAPTER LVI.—OLD ITALICANS AND THEIR HABITAT.

MANY times in the preceding pages the epithet Græco-Italic has been used as definitive of a certain branch of the human family. The word is compound, and the fact in ethnography to which it applies is like it. So many and striking are the identities discoverable among the primitive peoples of Greece and Italy as to compel the belief that they held together in their progress out of Asia until the features and peculiarities of all had been determined by a common growth. Close investigation has now proved, from a historical basis, the community of the Greek and Latin families in the migratory and tribal epochs. Though the Latins, in their progress out of Asia Minor to the West, did not leave en route any distinct evidences of their existence in Northern Greece, we are nevertheless able to trace their progress, and by means of language to determine the common movement westward of the oldest Hellenes and the Italicans.

Intimate ethnic relations of the Latin and Greek races.

We have already had occasion to remark upon the striking similarities between the Æolic Greeks and the Latins. The languages spoken by the two races had many affinities which can not be discovered between Latin and the classical Greek of Central Hellas. There was undoubtedly a time when Æolic and Latin were one. It would appear that in the migrations of this tribe, which contained the potency of so great a development, the Italicans were in the advance. They seem to have led the way across Northern Greece, dragging the Æolians behind them.

Close kinship of Latin language and Æolic Greek.

The movement here referred to antedates, no doubt, by a great space the incoming of the Dorians and the Ionians. We may well believe that the Latin race was the oldest branch of the Græco-Italic family. In its progress through Thrace and Thessaly and Illyria it disentangled itself from the Æolians, leaving them behind. We must think of this phenomenon as a movement westward of the more radical and adventurous part of the combined tribes until the same would become first attenuated, and would then part in twain, leaving the vanguard to move on, and depositing the conservative elements in settled communities. While this movement was taking place, we may perceive the deposition in Thrace, Thessaly, and Illyria of that primitive and somewhat barbarous population which in subsequent times failed to participate in the splendid growth and blossom of Greek nationality.

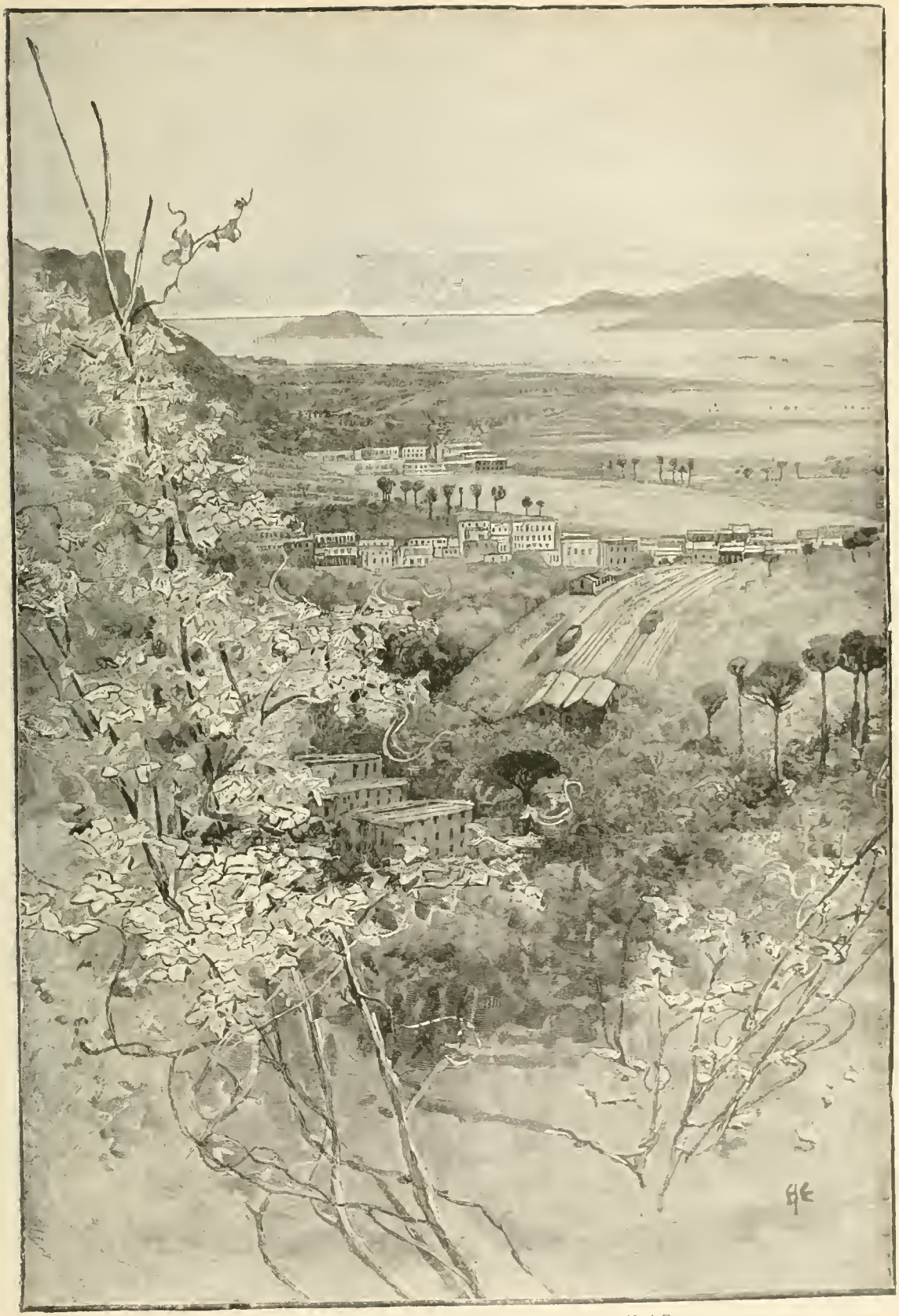
Latin tribes really the vanguard of Dorian migration.

Fixing our attention, then, upon the West-bound division of this Græco-Italic race, we find it made up of two elements. These in their turn presently parted company, throwing forward an older stock into the west of Central Italy. These were the Latini, so called, who may be said to have constituted the germ of the Roman race. We may not clearly perceive by what route the Latins made their way into the country which took their name, on the left bank of the Tiber and southward from its mouth. Tradition and probability have been busy with the problem. The course may have been by land, possibly by water. Legend has preferred the latter theory. There was a Mediterranean voyage and a debarcation of some shiploads of ocean-tossed adventurers, "driven by fate to the Lavinian shore." Or, again, the movement may have been around the head of the Adriatic and across the mountains of the peninsula to the land of settlement. In the latter case, we should be perplexed to account for the localization of the Latini west of the Apennines rather than on the eastern coast; but the first tribes might have passed through a comparatively unsettled country and over the lower mountain ridges by easy routes to their chosen home. Thus at length was the original stock planted in Latium, where, according to the Vergilian song, it was ruled three hundred years by a race of primitive kings. Three hundred years is easily said, and may be accepted—as a part of the epic.

Movements and distribution of the Latini in Italy

The other Italic family, called the Sabellians, came afterwards. We may well believe that their coming was by land marches around the sea and into the peninsula. Their place of settlement in the central mountain regions on the eastern slopes toward the Adriatic would indicate an immigration by land. The Sabellians were the younger division of the Italic family, but in the primitive ages they developed much more rapidly than did the Latini. The

Place and descendent tribes of the Sabellians.



ITALIAN LANDSCAPE.—Procida and Ischia.—Drawn by Alfred East.

Sabellian stock put out many vigorous branches—Samnites at the head, Sabines, Marsi, Volsci, Æqui, Hernici, Rutuli, Pæligni, Frentani. This was a remarkable outputting as compared with the very limited branching of the Latins into the two families of Ausones and Siculi; but the early promise of the Sabellian development was destined to

Central Italy Latinized; the south Hellenized.

say Central Italy, for in the north another race occupied the peninsula, and seemingly held it fast. These were the Etruscans. They were spread in a broad band from the Po on the east across to the Arno on the west. They were a strong and vigorous people, already in full tide of development when

ANCIENT LATINI.—From Relief on Trojan's Column.

disappointment in the after results. For when the tardy Latin stem at last began to flourish the Sabellians were overshadowed, and at last drawn up by the stronger plant as mere nutriment on which to feed.

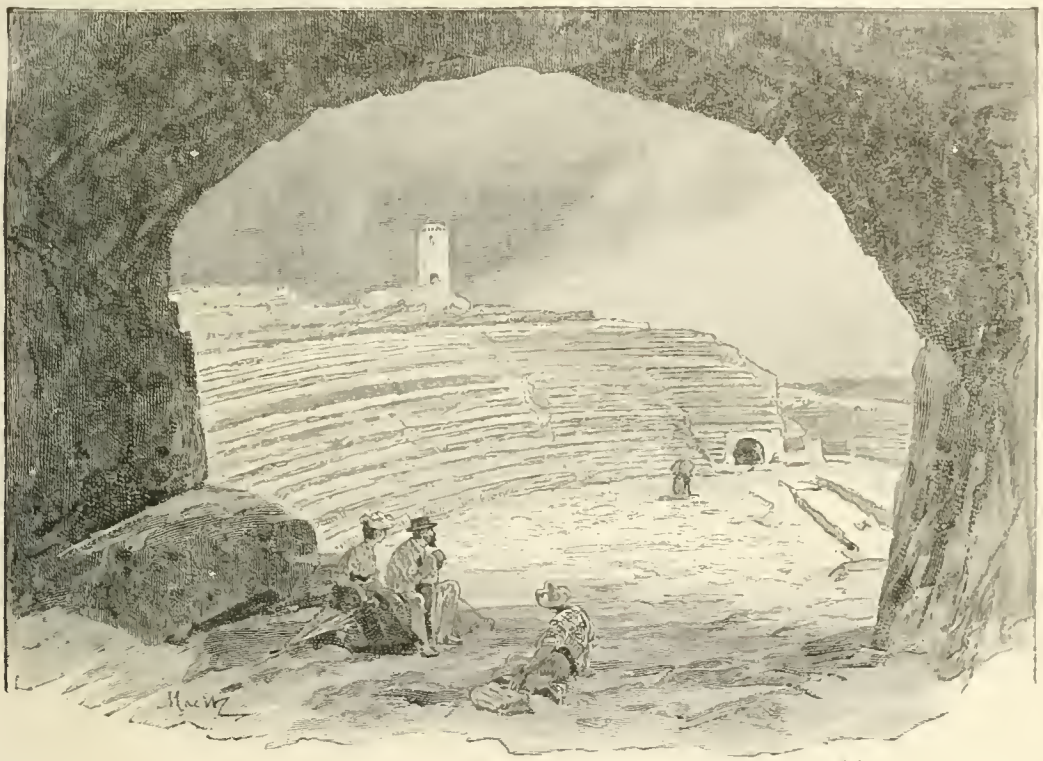
Thus we may conceive of Central Italy peopled by Aryan tribes in the prehistoric dawn. We have already in a former book described the distribution of them through the country. We the Roman plant was green in the sap. Also in the south, owing to the rapid development of Hellenic civilization in the eastern peninsula, Greek colonies had been flung forth; and what with a delightful country and what with the native vigor of the race, these had grown into flourishing states, much more promising in aspect than anything which might be discovered in Central or Northern Italy. Here in the south

was planted Magna Græcia, that Great Greece of which something has been said in connection with the subject of Greek colonization.

Thus were the three bands of the primitive Italian populations drawn across the peninsula: on the north, the Etruscan band; in the center, the Aryan, or Italic, band; on the south, the Grecian band, the most enlightened and

Three belts of Italican population; the Celtic invasion.

less at this time making their way backwards by reflex migration from the west, turned through the Alpine passes and fell upon the Etruscans in the valley of the Po. The latter were displaced, driven forth by the shock. They were forced to the west, confined henceforth to the region between the Arno and the Tiber. From this seat, presently, the Latins on the south will contend with them for the mastery of the country.



THEATER OF THE GREEK COLONISTS AT SYRACUSE.—Drawn by MacWhirter.

rorward of the early stocks. In the central development the Sabellian tribes dwelt from the Apennines to the Adriatic, and somewhat encircled the Latins, who held to Latium in the west. Such was the seat of what was destined to be the Roman power, and such was its primitive ethnic aspect.

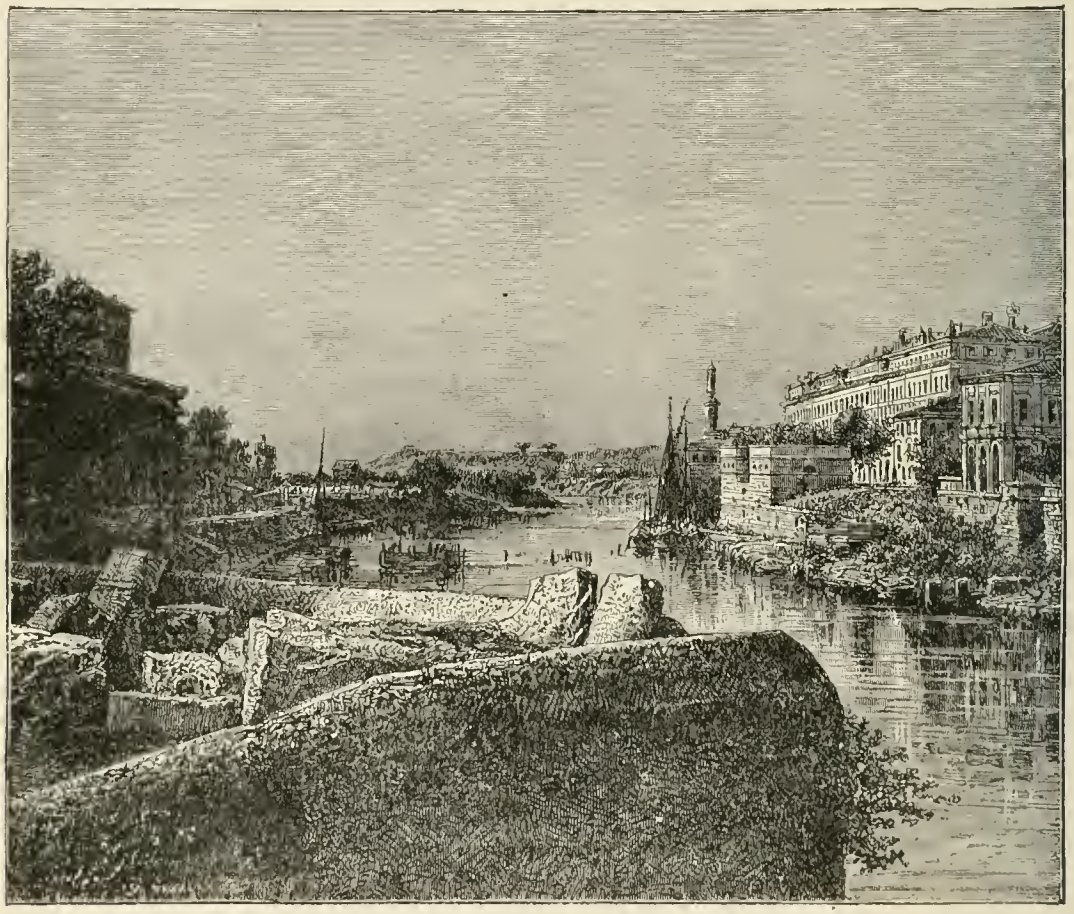
At length the Etruscans suffered an onset from the north. Beyond the Alps there was disturbance and an eruption. Certain Celtic nations, doubt-

Slow is the growth of the oak. It takes time and season and tempest. The Italic stock set in Latium is like it. For a long time its progress upward and outward, its branching, its increase in girth are scarcely noticeable. Once, possibly twice, it is transplanted; so says the legend. From the high country of Alba Longa, whence the traveler may behold the sea, this strong stalk is taken in its infancy and reset on the banks of the

Vigor and hardihood of the Roman gens.

Tiber. It is the story of the twin whelps of Mars, nursed as castaways by the ferocious brute whose brazen dugs one may still see in the Vatican. The origin was war and violence, unlawful love, the seizing of strange women by perfidy, and then more war to make valid the rape. Storm and tempest were not wanting; lenes was that of the primitive Romans. In the latter there is less complexity—mere vehemence of strength. Many elements are fused together about the Tiber hills—many human elements representing diverse qualities of blood. When the huge axle, the central fact in infi-

Vehemence and energy of the Roman evolution.



VIEW ON THE TIBER.—Saint Michael and the Aventine.—Drawn by H. Clerget, from a photograph.

hardship, strong blasts, dangers, thunderbolts out of heaven, whirlwinds in the old forum, hiding murder in the dust-clouds. A rude and boisterous beginning; but the roots of the tree went down to the everlasting rock, and the ancient haruspice might well see in vision the wild birds of centuries gathering in its branches.

Quite unlike the evolution of the Hel- nite machinery, is to be forged, scraps of most various iron gathered from divers places are thrown together in a heap. The great sheet beneath them is folded up blanketwise about them, and the whole is thrown into the furnace. White is the heat glowing around it until, at the melting point, it is drawn forth under the hammer. Down goes the crushing weight and the forging begins. The

mass is kneaded into one. It is rolled and beaten till the fiber is interlocked through every part with a strength and tenacity not to be undone or rent asunder. So the human welding on the Tiber began. Sabine robbers and Roman robbers, rough shepherds from the hills, barbarous princes from old Lavinium, chieftains from Samnium, and strong stone masons from the quarries of Etruria are thrown together and fused in the furnace of war and marriage. Out of the heat comes a new creature whom men call Roman. Beware of him! He is strong and will fight.

But at first he was a farmer. We should here say that it is not men of the commercial, industrial, artistic instinct that roll first and furthest to the West. In the New World we have seen the mighty progress of the human wave from ocean to ocean. Marking its Western quality, we see ever the strongest and roughest parts. The tumble of the man-sea flings its rough breakers and heavy pebbles afar out with its advance on the shore. There is also ever a great preponderance of males in the vanguard. Glance at the sex-map in the *Statistical Atlas of the United States* wherein the darker colors represent the preponderance of male-life, and you shall see how all the Western frontier is shaded down to black. The weak creature, the female creature, the artistic creature, can not at first make its way so far to the West.

Strongest male elements along the Western border.

So in the Old World. As the Græco-Italics came out of Asia, the stronger parts went in advance. Not that the rest were weak; for they too had been toughened and developed by long migrations and great vicissitudes of scene and circumstance. But the men of might, coarse, wild men, strong in endeavor, courageous, strenuous in the struggle of life, were in the van. They reach Italy—the western parts of Italy. The Tyrrhenian sea forbids their progress westward. They fix themselves in Latium. The migratory impulse sinks into settlement. The old chiefs become petty kings. The soil, the landscape are most inviting. The Italic immigrants may have felt, as they looked upon the blossoming, vine-draped hillsides and valleys, as did Leif Ericsson's old Norsemen as they debouched into Massachusetts and Rhode Island! The Romans established themselves on the soil. They began its tillage; and ever afterwards, even to the collapse of the empire at the close of the fifth century of our era, fully twelve

Aggressiveness and courage of the Græco-Italic van.

GREAT CATTLE OF THE ROMAN CAMPAGNA.
Drawn by Henri Regnault, from nature.

hundred years away, the agricultural instinct was dominant in the race.

Two other dispositions appeared at the beginning. The breeding and rearing of domestic animals, and the building of walled towns as centers of defense and refuge. Italy is the native seat of cattle and swine. Of the former race the archæologist discovers traces of an astonishing character. In the ancient valley of Pavia rose and flourished the *Bos primigenius*, the Big ox, of archæology. Mark his skull, still exhumed from the soil of his native valley. It is the grandest ox head known in the world. Not those of Uruguay or of Southwestern North America can equal the majestic front of the extinct Pavian bullock. Five feet from tip to tip are those tremendous horn-cores, the horns themselves lost in the dust of ages. To this day the same splendid race inhabits Northern Italy. The finest horns which are exposed for sale among the mounted bric-a-brac of stylish shops in St. Petersburg, in Paris, in New York, are taken from the heads of Pavian oxen.—But of the native resources of ancient Italy and the way in which the primitive Romans availed themselves of the same we shall remark hereafter.

Farming instinct supplemented with passion for cattle raising.

MEDITERRANEAN LANDSCAPE.—PORTO FERRAJO.—Drawn by J. Fulleylove.

The old Italicans were the builders of strongholds. There was something of the sort at traditional Alba Longa. Lavinium was defensible. "And with much labor they shall fortify Lavinium," says Vergil. Rome was so from the beginning. It was for leaping over the wall that Remus lost his rash life. A dangerous thing was it, from the primal day, to leap over a Roman wall! We shall see at once that the earliest social

The Roman race the builders of strongholds.

ITALICAN ENVIRONMENT.—Pine Forest of Ravenna.—Drawn by W. H. Boot.

and political conditions in Latium had respect to the towns. So strong was the disposition to create these fastburgs on the hills that during the whole evolution and career of Rome she remained either a municipality or a congeries of municipalities bound together by political ties. This fact was one of the causes of the exceeding strength manifested by the Italican peoples. Their town, wherever it was planted, was a stake driven into the earth which not even the tempest of war could drag up and cast away.

Beauty of Italy and mildness of climate.

A land of extreme beauty was this Old Italy, inhabited now by the new comers from the East. At bottom, it is the warmest country of Europe, but the sea on both sides tempers the heat, moistens the air. From north to south there is centrally through the whole peninsula the range of the Apennines; and even as far down as Calabria these retain the snow on their summits to midsummer.

Absence of harbors retards the commercial evolution.

Unlike Greece in almost every particular is this great peninsula. Mark the seacoast as an example of prime difference. The coast of Greece is a continuous harbor, a repetition of harbors. Begin at Thrace, on the north and east, and trace the whole sea line southward around Peloponnesus and up on the west to Illyria, and you shall find harbor after harbor. It is the natural abode of seacraft; hence the abode of commerce, of foreign intercourse, of colonization, of intellectual interfusion with all the world. But here in Italy the coast is without indentation. On the Adriatic side, from Venice to the heel of Italy, the sea line is absolutely unbroken. The instep is the gulf of Tarentum. On the west the country is almost equally harborless. One may easily perceive good reason why the ancient Romans did not take to the sea; why as late as the Middle Punic Wars they were still novices in the art of shipbuilding; why their commerce was neglected and the whole energies of the people turned to inland production. It was the necessity of the situation, a suggestion of the land and the sea.

Uniformity of natural conditions throughout Italy.

The general aspect of Italy is one of simple beauty. The complexity of Greece is wanting. The break-up and jumble of the natural forces which must ever impress the traveler through Hellas are not seen in Italy. Not that variety is wanting—vast variety—but over it all there is a oneness of beauty, a cerulean sky above, a balmy atmosphere, an equable temperature, a regularity of season, a moderation in earth and sea and sky. The extension of the Apennines and their spurs into the extreme south prevents any marked differences between Northern and Southern Italy As we journey southward from the valleys of the Po and the Arno there is a gradual rising of tropical features in the landscape; but the country taken as a whole has great uniformity of conditions. It is semitropical in all the lowlying parts, and only temperate among the hills and mountains. We may well pause for a moment to consider the resources which this fair land offered to the primitive Italic races.

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